

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—LIFE OF BISHOP CLARK.

Life-Story of Rev. Davis Wasgatt Clark, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Compiled from Original Sources. By Rev. DANIEL CURRY, D.D. 12mo. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1874.

THE remarkable good fortune, as a heathen would express it, or divine favor, as a Christian would regard it, which superintended the career of Davis W. Clark through his whole life, followed him after death, and selected for him a competent biographer.

Dr. Curry understands the difficult art of portraying the life and character of a man, as all who have read his admirable Review of Boswell's Life of Johnson, published in the "National Magazine" more than twenty years ago, will acknowledge, and in the subject committed to him here he has found a congenial theme. Of nearly all the great enterprises in which Bishop Clark participated as leader or associate, Dr. Curry could say "*magna pars fui*;" and while generally he was so fully in accord with him as now, in reviewing them, to feel the inner thrill of personal memory, so as to give the work much of the freshness of an autobiography, he is at the same time so individualistic in his nature as not to be in danger of laying aside the criticism and analysis of a genuine biographer.

The space allotted to us in this article will not allow an attempt to produce a substitute for the biography—every intelligent person interested in that marvelous development of ecclesiastical and Christian history, American Methodism, ought

FOURTH SERIES, VOL. XXVI.—1

to read the book for himself—but we desire to present some thoughts suggested by the panorama which is here made to pass before us, with Clark as the most conspicuous figure.

He lived in a fortunate time. (All successful men do. They make it fortunate.) Methodism had already achieved its first victory. It had measured up to the demand in one epoch. It had survived the honest and violent discussions of its origin. As the nation had its unorganized union in a struggle for existence, and its confederation, which was only a rope of sand, till the Constitution was adopted, so Methodism for a long time was but a bursting out of Christian life in disconnected individuals and societies, rising and falling, spreading and receding; and when it first incorporated itself, like the nation, into a federal union, it was subjected to fearful opposition and rivalries and disasters, which made its success far less steady and more capricious than in any subsequent period. Its dangers were greater than that of the nation, for men cannot desert the soil they live on; but for many years the Methodist Societies served only as a temporary home for a large host of its converts who relapsed into irreligion, and a half-way house for many others who passed through them to the ministry and membership of other Churches, leaving a selected and heroic remnant who stood by the standard after the first excitement of enlistment was followed by the laborious campaign. It is too late now to gather the statistics, nor, indeed, would any good purpose perhaps be served by them; but it is well known that the first impression produced on the Christian world was one that we even yet sometimes hear repeated by a few who, like the Bourbons, never learn and never forget any thing, that Methodism is but a temporary excitement, a useful movement, indeed, in a pioneer country, but destined soon to pass away.

But Asbury and his compeers were certainly equal in organizing power to Wesley and his assistants. An instinct, or vitality, in harmony with the laws of God and the spirit of Christ, taught them to aim continually at improvement, and to seek to do the new work called for by every new danger and new opportunity. Asbury and his most enterprising associates were impressed with the necessity of promoting the higher education of the ministers and people. No subject, apart from

experimental piety, received so much attention and was so persisted in, in spite of so many failures. Our biographer on this subject corrects the too common opinion, that the early Methodists neglected education during that interval which occurred between the burning of Cokesbury College and Baltimore Academy and the founding of Conference Seminaries and the Wesleyan University. He says, "Through all this time the subject was not lost sight of by the best minds of the Church." Had it been, Methodism would have followed all other Christian bodies that have neglected education—to rapid extinction. He might have added that Asbury and others, with his approval, founded several academies even in those years when all the educational enterprises of the Church seemed to fail. But before Clark appeared the battles had been fought and the victory won. Wilbur Fisk, the leader of the second great epoch in Methodism, had entered into and crystallized a sentiment which always existed. He established not the first, nor even the tenth, but the first *permanent* Methodist school in this country. Seminaries then received General Conference approval, and grew rapidly in number and power. A university in name and germ, a college, in fact, was founded. A regular course of literary and theological study was prescribed for all the ministers. This was originally an American Methodist institution. The road was projected, the rails for a short distance were laid; it was only a question of time when the last spike should be driven, and the wilderness should be opened to civilization and beauty.

A student of Methodism will also see the germs of all its subsequent great enterprises—such as the Missionary Society, Bible Society, (shared with others,) Church Extension, Publishing and Sunday-school enterprises, and others yet to be developed—all in the first discussions and first utterances of the Fathers.

The childhood of the Church was past, the first matured energy and changes of youth appeared, when Clark, with many others, stepped upon the arena. We say "with many others," for the days of one-man power in the Methodist Episcopal Church passed away with Asbury. Fisk, perhaps, marked a transition. Subsequently there has appeared no epoch when the intellect and heart of one person have dominated; but there

has been that larger and fuller life which arises from an immense and growing variety of genius, talents, and attainment, harmonized, we would fain believe, by the love of Christ and true evangelical zeal. But it is time that Clark should more prominently appear.

Of the interesting description of his boyhood, and of his conversion at sixteen; of the impulse to mental culture which his spiritual life gave him; of his almost accidentally, if there are any accidents, finding himself in the Maine Wesleyan Seminary at Kent's Hill; of his mental struggle about going to college—an ambition never dreamed of till he became associated with others of like mind in the academy; of his teaching school; of his severe study at Middletown, where he nearly broke down his strong constitution in an effort to do four years' work in two—the biographer must tell the story.

Graduating at the age of twenty-four, he engaged at once in teaching and preaching at Amenia Seminary. Nor was this a mistake. During the seven years spent there—five as principal—he saw two hundred students converted, and he strengthened himself by probably the severest and best discipline of his life. He was then, as ever after, excessive in labor—too excessive for a model. In addition to personal instruction, which required more time than the average duties of a college professorship, he preached once, and often twice, on every Sabbath, and found time to publish a creditable Elementary Algebra, to collect the material of a book called “Mental Discipline,” and to write many valuable articles for the *Christian Advocate* and the METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

His first literary work was a series of articles in the *Christian Advocate* in favor of aiding needy young students called of God to the ministry. On this subject Bishop Clark deserves the honor of speaking earnestly and heartily from strong convictions when his Church was silent, and he always maintained these convictions. In this view he agreed with Wesley and the earliest Methodists. Of course his sentiments were opposed. What good enterprise has not been compelled to break down opposition? Education itself has been opposed. The missionary enterprise, the temperance cause, Sunday-schools—every thing has been opposed, and that, too, by honest men in the Church. But a vital organization founded on a genuine

idea thrives the better from honest criticism. Bishop Clark had that too rare quality of being able easily to emancipate himself from the belittling tendency to found a universal conclusion upon one's own personal experience. He did not worship "the idols of the tribe." Some men who have succeeded passably well without formal education can see no necessity for colleges. Others who have enjoyed only the advantage of a college think theological schools superfluous, if not an evil. Others who were fortunate enough to earn their living and pay for their own education, by perhaps a providential favor that one in ten could not without presumption hope for, immediately conclude that to aid needy young men even by way of loan will only encourage softness and indolence. Bishop Clark did not make his own history the narrow foundation of his creed.

It is worthy of notice that his prime opposer in this his first enterprise as a writer yielded the real point at issue by declaring his approval of the English practice of providing education for "the list of reserves," the young preachers not immediately employed. This, of course, was all Clark or any man ever asked for. It matters not whether you call them "junior preachers," "reserves," "beneficiaries," or by any other name—they should be educated; and if necessary, aided to obtain an education, till the authorities of the Church see fit to introduce them into the pastorate. And if the American Church will only follow out Bishop Clark's early and life-long advice, we shall have, not the English system merely, but the true common-sense system, which, well worked, with all our other agencies, will spread scriptural holiness through all the lands of the earth. We confess to a little surprise that the biographer, after stating fully Clark's position and zeal on this subject, should add, "That the Education Society method is open to many very serious objections cannot be denied!" True enough, there are, or have been, objections to all things. But if the alternative is between that and "the British method," which possibly may yet be adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church, the true friends of helping needy young ministers obtain an education will be indifferent to the result. Call it by any name you choose. The only real difference is that the British method is more sweeping and comprehensive, and would accomplish far

more than the advocates of the "Education Society" method have yet dared to hope for in the near future.

Clark soon left the Seminary for the itinerant work. There is a charm about the genuine pastoral employment which few preaching professors can resist; and we have yet to find the first successful preacher who has also had experience as a teacher who does not, on the whole, give preference to the pastorate, so far as personal enjoyment is concerned, unless it is the habit of the professor to spend the most of his time in purely literary or scientific pursuits. There is less of irksomeness, more of immediate fruit, in the pastorate. But we are glad that finally our Church has reached, or is rapidly approaching, a correct sentiment on this subject. When Clark abandoned his very useful post as Principal of Amenia Seminary it was actually necessary to do so to obtain admission, even as a probationer, into the New York Conference. How much this fact influenced him, and also others who succeeded him in that honorable place, who can conjecture?

No longer do men called of God to preach, and actually preaching every Sabbath, and indeed every day, in the classroom, to young and strong and impressible minds, and leading many to Christ every year, find it necessary to abandon their places to obtain ordination and association on equal terms with their brethren. We hazard the conjecture that had Clark remained at the head of that seminary a few years more, with his extraordinary industry and constructive ability, it would have become a large and powerful institution, on an endowment that would have made its permanent usefulness as secure as any thing future can well be. Schools of this character have been the means of the conversion and education of a large proportion of our ministers and members. Though he had already been preaching seven years and was well known as an author, he was ordained deacon and joined the conference on probation in 1843, and was stationed at what was then a comparatively feeble society, and distracted by discussions on the slavery controversy, in Winsted, Connecticut.

While connected with the seminary he had, according to the custom of many in like positions, traveled as a volunteer preacher, unpaid, through the whole section of country within fifty miles of his residence, supplying vacant Churches and

helping in times of special demand. And, judging from some years' experience, we may add, all this without any pecuniary remuneration. In this way he had visited Winsted—far in the outskirts of his unorganized circuit—and the faithful few who were resolved to abide by the Church were undoubtedly delighted at his appointment. We need not repeat the story of his mastery of the situation in this his first Church. He continued for ten years in what some thoughtlessly call "the regular work," though it should be understood that the Church provides for no irregular work. As a pastor he was fully as successful as he had been as a teacher. Perhaps, with one exception, he left every Society stronger than he found it; and while in that Church he was compelled by a sense of duty to take a decided position in the slavery controversy, which, though it led to temporary inconvenience, contributed largely to the promotion of righteousness and true peace. Many gracious revivals of religion were enjoyed, and he was soon recognized as one of the most successful members of the Conference.

He achieved his success in the pastorate not as a brilliant orator. In extemporaneous speech he was deliberate and correct, but sometimes hesitating and laborious. Nor was he usually impassioned or imaginative. His illustrations were not infrequent, but were almost always facts drawn from history or his own observation. He made many excursions into parallel fields of thought, but they were always pertinent to the subject. He was not a preacher of strange doctrines, and never arrested attention by startling assertions and paradoxes. His discourses were always thoughtfully prepared—nearly if not quite written out—though he often preached without manuscript, and also often with the manuscript. His discourses were scriptural and logical, and arranged in luminous order, and in such style as to interest particularly the thoughtful and well-informed. The people soon learned to expect something new and something honestly prepared. On extra occasions he would always be ready with a carefully wrought-out discourse. There was a natural vein of pathos in the man, which was a great element of power. His profound sincerity and his sympathy with sufferers, and his strong feelings, kept under subjection and yet revealing themselves in countenance and the tones of his voice, made him often truly eloquent. He was eminently

successful in preaching genuine repentance and faith in Christ. He usually produced the greatest effect when the sermon was read from the manuscript. He seemed to have the power of reviving and increasing all the emotion he must have had when writing the discourse, and of awakening in his hearers similar emotion. As "Father Taylor" of Boston exclaimed, "The leaves were on fire," or, rather, he was on fire. When pressed with Episcopal duties, hurrying from conference to conference, and compelled to preach without immediate premeditation, he often used the manuscript discourse; and though no congregation could be found more unfavorable to this kind of speaking than conferences of Methodist preachers, the effect produced was usually not only profound, but thrilling. It was not merely thought, but deep emotion and earnest resolve.

It would be rash to infer from such facts that the use of manuscript does not detract from full power, or is generally commendable; or that free, spontaneous speech is not the highest eloquence; still none should be so enslaved to theory as to be blind to facts.

It was impossible for a man of the temperament of Dr. Clark to stand entirely aloof from the fierce discussions on slavery which occupied statesmen and moralists in all parts of America, and to some extent throughout the world. A member of a conference which embraced the great commercial emporium of America, where self-interest created defenders of slavery as resolute and sophistical as any south of Mason and Dixon's line, and where a majority of the most-eulogized clergymen of all denominations were either cowardly silent, or skillful trimmers, or open defenders of the system, it would not have been singular if he, young in the ministry, and rapidly growing in popularity and influence, had floated in the current. He was not indeed violent in his action, nor extremely radical in his views; but a review of his history on this subject, as given by Dr. Curry, confirms our impression that he was thoroughly honest and almost impassively fearless in the expression of his convictions. Slavery in the abstract and concrete he believed to be wrong. He could not and would not utter an apology for it. He desired that the Church should declare unequivocal opposition to it.

These sentiments he uttered not only in the New England

country village, but in the pulpits of the city of New York and in the Preachers' Meeting, in Conference and with the pen; nor did he ever qualify or dilute his sentiment. At the same time his utterances were not remarkably frequent; he showed that other subjects occupied his mind, and he had no sympathy with those who imagined they could not be faithful in opposition to slavery without separating themselves ecclesiastically and politically from all who did not fully agree with them in belief. Nor was he sufficiently persistent and active on this subject to entitle him to the highest place among the leaders in the great Methodist antislavery struggle.

It is worthy of note that notwithstanding the Churches which he served required so much labor—involving not only regular Sabbath work and daily duty, but usually a protracted meeting of several weeks every winter—and notwithstanding he was not a ready speaker, but made special and severe preparation for nearly every sermon, and notwithstanding also an unusual attention to the demands of the general Church, he still found time to correspond regularly with some religious periodicals, and even to continue his labors as an author of books. Young clergymen will see that Bishop Clark earned his reputation and power. During his pastorate he prepared for the press his "Mental Discipline," "The Methodist Episcopal Pulpit," a compilation of sermons by others, and a large work of nearly six hundred pages entitled "Death-Bed Scenes." He continued to write also occasionally for the *QUARTERLY REVIEW*, and rapidly won the reputation of being one of the leading scholars of the Church.

In 1851 he received an invitation to take editorial charge of the *Ladies' Repository*, published at Cincinnati, which office would also carry with it the duty of being editor of the books published by the Western Methodist Book Concern. This post had been manned by the ablest men who could be secured. Dr. Elliott, Bishop Hamline, Dr. Tefft, and Prof. Larrabee had successively held it. The vacancy occurred by Prof. Larrabee accepting another situation, and Dr. Clark was at first appointed by the Book Committee, and not by the General Conference. He was, however, subsequently elected to the office twice, and held it for about twelve years. Under his charge the *Repository* was enlarged and improved, as indeed the in-

crease of its circulation demanded. The articles that bear his name and the editorials believed to be his are of a character that would be as appropriate in a Quarterly Review as in a Ladies' Repository.

This position seemed to make him rather a man of the whole Church than of one conference, and it would have been singular if he had not been elected a member of the ensuing General Conference, which met in 1856. The New York Conference recognized his commanding ability and solid merit, and no man had more faithful friends and admirers than he found ever thereafter among both the ministry and laymen of this conference.

Both as a specimen of the style of the biography, and to show the esteem in which Dr. Clark was held at this time, we give an extract from the book, (pp. 141-143):

At the session of that body for 1852 he had been appointed to preach the "Conference Sermon," which service he accordingly rendered at the session for 1853, at Kingston. It was probably altogether the most felicitous effort of his whole public life. Its subject was, "The Cross of Christ the one theme of the Christian Minister's Glorifying;" the text, Galatians vi, 14. As it now appears in print it is a thoroughly elaborated discourse, presenting in well-arranged and forcible order, and with effective illustrations, the great truths of Christianity that cluster around the doctrines of the cross of Christ, with a special application of its lessons to ministers of the Gospel. It was delivered from the manuscript; and though it occupied more than an hour in the reading, it was heard with constantly increasing interest. The next day the Conference asked for its publication, and so well was it received in that form that it experienced the almost unparalleled good fortune of passing to a second edition. In a letter to his wife he thus states his own impression of the occasion of its delivery: "By a vote of the Conference the sermon—about which I know you will have not a little solicitude—came off last evening. It was very stormy, but the house was full—the Conference all there. The cabinet adjourned. I was somewhat startled by the unexpected entrance of the bishop and presiding elders. The sermon was read in just one and a half hours. A peculiar unction attended its very beginning, and the brethren sent up very hearty *amens*. The most intense stillness prevailed, and the utmost attention was manifested throughout, and it closed amid a perfect tornado of shouts. I never read with so much ease, power, and unction before." His own estimate of the impression made by that sermon entirely agreed with the general verdict. A correspondent of the *Western Christian Advocate* wrote respecting it:

"On Thursday evening the annual sermon was preached by Rev. Dr. Clark, the able editor of the *Ladies' Repository*, to a large and attentive audience. This discourse was very profound and eloquent, and nothing could be better adapted to the occasion or to the times. It was very happily delivered, and so deep were the emotions kindled in every breast that loud and frequent bursts of praise rolled through and completely filled the temple."

Of the excellence of the discourse as a happy and forcible presentation of evangelical truth, it is its own witness; but probably its delivery was that which gave it its chief reputation. The speaker was evidently just then in his very best mood, and every man that has been used to address popular assemblies very well knows the influence of the speaker's mood over both himself and his audience. It is said that one of our bishops won his high place by a single speech, and another made his election sure by a somewhat remarkable prayer. But, though no doubt Dr. Clark was destined to rise to his high position in the Church even had no happy incident aided him, yet it is very certain that that sermon added very much to his reputation and subsequent advancement.

It would seem that in this new office he might have regarded his time all bespoken, but "to him that hath shall be given," and new duties accumulated upon him. At Poughkeepsie, where he was pastor when called to his present office, he had witnessed the last days of the venerable Bishop Hedding. From an intimacy contracted during the last years of his life, Hedding had requested Clark to take his papers and prepare his biography, if one should be demanded. This was no easy task. Bishop Hedding left comparatively few papers, and he had lived and participated in the most exciting discussions of the Church, to describe which fairly would require a man of rare discrimination and unflinching integrity. We must leave Dr. Curry to relate how well Bishop Clark accomplished this labor of love, at the same time expressing our own conviction that he exhibited his peculiar character here as every-where. He calmly stated the great facts, steered clear off all extremes, and disarmed all opposers by his candor.

If some doubt might be entertained whether the Church did not lose by his abandonment of educational work for the pastorate, still graver doubts might well have arisen upon his retirement from the pastorate for editorial work. Polite literature certainly had not been his forte. His reading had not been extensive, and was mostly professional; he was never a remark-

ably versatile or ready man; and his influence, already great, was continually growing as a preacher and in forming and executing comprehensive enterprises in the city of New York and vicinity. But it is a part of Methodist discipline to submit to the voice of the Church, whether expressed through the Bishops or the General Conference, and he obeyed. We are convinced that the office to which he was called was not well fitted to draw out and monopolize his peculiar power, and that had he confined himself strictly to the duties of editor of the *Ladies' Repository* he would not have accomplished his mission, nor would the Church have fully enjoyed the benefit of his ability. In addition to abundant editorial labor, he was largely employed in the dedication of houses of worship, and in advancing the benevolent interests of the Church by voice and pen. He was a superior business man. Both for his own personal benefit and for the Church he planned wisely and executed successfully. Could the full history of the twelve years spent in this office be given, it would remarkably verify this fact. He knew well the developments in real estate going on around him, and kept up a constant sympathy with both the business and the political and moral sentiment of city, State, and nation.

During his editorial life he was led, in defense of one of his own expressions, and also of an opinion attributed to Bishop Hedding, into a controversy on Sanctification, or Holiness, which the biographer has done well to describe. The result of it seems to have been a demonstration that the Editor of the "Repository" substantially agreed with Wesley on this fundamental doctrine. And yet this episode in his history illustrates the two diverse modes of viewing this subject which have always prevailed among men equally conversant by experience with "the deep things of God." Both parties agree in formulas of doctrine; but in the bent of thinking, in the semi-indefinite expressions which men employ when they forget logic and speak from the heart, two quite diverse habits of feeling and thinking show themselves. The one party look upon justification and sanctification as about equally accomplished facts. The other party think of sanctification as a frequently repeated act and a progressive growth, well begun, sure to proceed, but not yet complete. Which is the better constitution or habit

must be decided by the fruit, and not theoretically; but it would be well to remember that among the apostles there was a Peter as well as a John, and there will be saints in the Church down to the end of time, who will not entertain the same thoughts, nor express their thoughts and feelings in the same style.

While in charge of the "Repository" Dr. Clark did much quiet editorial work, examining and revising manuscripts, and selecting and preparing books for publication. Among the best books compiled by him are "The Fireside Library," "Celebrated Women," "Home Views," which, with many other works prepared by him, have been widely circulated, and have contributed largely to place the Western Book Concern in the front rank of the publishing houses of the country, and have exerted a refining influence that it would be difficult to over-estimate.

His election to the Episcopacy in 1864 was no surprise to the Church. For a long time it had been the opinion of his intimate friends that he possessed a remarkable adaptation to this responsible office. Soundly orthodox in belief; never, indeed, manifesting any disposition to call in question accepted doctrine, or to investigate, like one who is troubled by them, prevalent forms of heresy; conservative, and at the same time energetic, in enterprises to increase the efficiency of the Church; a man of commanding personal presence; genial in his disposition, and disposed to exercise authority kindly and unselfishly—it was natural that he should be often spoken of in connection with the Episcopacy. Besides, there was no other field that seemed to make a stronger demand for his services. His place as editor of the "Repository" and books could easily be supplied by men perhaps more versatile and of more varied acquirements; he had no disposition to re-enter the field of education, to which he had often been invited, and the habits which he had acquired of promoting the general interests of the Church fitted him for the general superintendency. He was elected by one hundred and twenty-four votes out of the two hundred and sixteen cast.

The prospect at this time was that he had many years to devote to the Church in this new office. Only fifty-two years of age, in a position where sound counsel and character, and a

good healthful variety of work and travel, were much more in demand than consuming toil or remarkable application in any one direction, it was reasonably expected that something like twenty years of the most valuable service might be expected. But, unknown to himself and his friends, the rest of his life was to be crowded into less than seven years.

The office of a Bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church has no exact parallel in any other denomination, ancient or modern, except in some small offshoots from the same Church. With no local parish or diocese, and, except in a few minor particulars, wholly relieved from legislative responsibility or power, the great function of the office is to become thoroughly familiar with the requirements and opportunities of the various fields of labor, and with the capabilities of the ministers, and so to make the appointments as to produce harmony and the best possible result. In this work particularly, the authority of the Bishops is constrained within constitutional limits. Experience demonstrates the wisdom of this organization, which was not made but grew, and is believed to be the child of Providence, and as yet betrays no symptoms of senility. All criticisms upon it are tolerated, as any other eccentricities, but are understood to be void of practical influence. Presiding at the conferences, and, as representatives of the elders—not as a third order in the ministry—ordaining the preachers; deprived of legislative care and having so much the more influence in counsel, those who have held this office have invariably been highly esteemed on account of their official position. These considerations probably produced the peculiar emotion of Dr. Clark when elected to that office, and not, as Dr. Curry suspects, a “popular superstition about the ‘separateness’ of the episcopal character, justifying heartfelt leave-takings with other ministers, as if a transition was about to be made into the inner courts of the Church, where the mitred ones alone may come.” Methodists have no “mitres” nor “inner courts,” but they have various kinds of work to be done in the Church, and men strong in one office may be weak in others. Bishop Clark soon found that his new duties left no time for sentimentalism, if he had been so inclined. Bishops were then not numerous, and the field was large, and he felt a demand for all his strength.

In this office as in others much depends on the man. Besides routine duty, which in some sense performs itself—for the train on a smooth track runs a long time from its own momentum—there are slumbering opportunities that need quick discernment, prompt action, and steady perseverance, to be worked into valuable results. Experiments like, for instance, the utilization of the first Methodist Church property in Chicago, and the purchase of the land for the foundation of the North-western University, if noted by the bishops in their travels through all parts of the country, and recommended at suitable times and places, are capable of frequent repetition and improvement. A “general superintendency,” in the true sense of the word, is full of extraordinary responsibility. It was not long before Bishop Clark’s talents in this direction had abundant scope for exercise. After a trip to the Pacific Coast conferences, where his work seems to have been mostly formal, it became his duty to make an episcopal visit to a large part of the southern country where the rebellion had been lately suppressed. Here arose new problems and new demands, which he met promptly and ably. His policy was to establish conferences, or to re-establish the old conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as they were before the unhappy division of 1840, wherever he could find a sufficient number of ministers—irrespective of color—to be thus united. We find that he even anticipated the question which led to such earnest and protracted discussion in the General Conference of 1868. In a letter of July 24, 1866, to Rev. A. A. Gee, then at Nashville, Tennessee, he says:

No part of our work will more need representation in the General Conference. In fact, we regard representation by delegates indispensable. It is true that a mission conference is not strictly entitled to delegates, but so pressing is the case that we determined to allow our mission conference in the South to elect delegates, subject to the approval of the General Conference, not doubting but that body would approve and admit the delegates at once.

What would not some of us have given for the above expression of opinion, when pleading in 1868 for an open door into the General Conference, in behalf of those delegates of “mission conferences!” It shows the faultless candor of the biographer that the above letter is among the few out of many

selected for publication. And here we may remark, in passing, that when Dr. Curry's biography comes to be written—may the day be far distant—his argument on the majesty of law, given in the conference of 1868, though not on the winning side, will deserve to be set forth and described as one of the ablest specimens of forensic discussion in the history of the Church.

We must refer our readers to the book itself for the history of Bishop Clark's administration in this new field. It was fortunate that he was both fearless and cautious, and that he had established and correct ideas on the importance of education, leading him to provide at the very first equally for conferences and schools. The absence of either would have doomed the other to speedy decay.

In fact, Bishop Clark entered upon his episcopal work with that indomitability that had characterized him from boyhood. Though cheerful in conversation, and always ready for a pleasant word, yet he betrayed at all times at least a semi-consciousness of having some present care upon his mind. He never missed an appointment; never refused to make an engagement that could be crowded into his programme; always did every thing as thoroughly as his time for preparation would allow. He subjected the machinery of body and mind to constant labor. Not until within a few months of his death did he show signs of breaking down under this burden. Ministers observe the Sabbath religiously, but some of them—at least a few of them—have no Sabbath of rest. Of course in such a case the life is crowded into a shorter term of years. Great variety of labor, like that of Wesley, to some temperaments, will furnish all the recreation needed, but a steady strain will sooner or later overcome resistance.

We shall not follow out the various episcopal terms of Bishop Clark, nor particularly describe his episcopal labors. As a president of a conference he was prompt, and correct, and impartial. In the delicate work of fixing the appointments he had the reputation of being exceedingly anxious to secure the best result both for ministers and people. He was particularly desirous of hearing the wishes of all concerned, and was unusually communicative of his own opinion. He had no fetichistic respect for conference boundaries, but looked upon the whole

Church as one field. He never attempted to cross a bridge till he reached it, puzzled himself with no abstract questions, but did the work of the hour vigorously. As the first president of the Freedman's Aid Society, to which he gave his heartiest attention, and by selecting and inducing competent men to enter upon its fields of labor, he accomplished a work for the South the results of which will be far-reaching and abiding.

Indeed, his great wisdom throughout his whole life consisted more in what may be called practical constructiveness than in abstract statesmanship. He was a quiet worker rather than a profuse thinker or talker. He was no metaphysician, except when it was a part of his business. He almost always had some special project in view, in which by determined perseverance he was sure to succeed, unless the frequent changes of residence demanded by the Methodist itinerancy detached him too soon from the locality. Had he remained in the educational field a little longer, he would certainly have embodied his views on the needed assistance of students for the ministry in some concrete shape. When in New York, he originated a plan for a Methodist Seminary in the city which almost succeeded, but his removal from New York allowed it to perish. In Cincinnati a General Theological Library and the Wesleyan Female College, and several local Church enterprises, were largely indebted to his unwearying constructive power. In the General Conference, though he spoke often, it was always on some practical question, never with a set speech or oration, and no man contributed more on the floor than he to the maintenance of order and the reaching of results. On most great questions, as slavery and lay delegation, he made no formal address. To him almost alone is the Church indebted for the revision and improvement of the Ritual. He it was who caused to be introduced into the Discipline the pledge of orthodoxy and the promise to contribute to the support of the Gospel and the various benevolent enterprises of the Church, now exacted of probationers when received into full membership. In this quiet way he exerted a lasting influence upon the Church, equaled by few, surpassed by none of his contemporaries.

It is a trite expression in biographies, long and short, that the subject had failures and infirmities, but it would be invidious to express them, and therefore biographies are mostly

ephemeral productions, and deserve to be. The reader instinctively feels that they are eulogies or full of glittering generalities, and that the character is either loosely or partially portrayed. Hence all men who have achieved permanent places in history have repeated biographies written, till some one is found searching, daring, and analytic enough to present the exact facts and draw proper lessons from them. Tyerman has rendered all previous lives of Wesley obsolete. It is nearly impossible to produce a true and critical portraiture of a contemporary. Indeed, unless the man has changed the current of history, like some few leaders in State or Church, or the current of thought, like the leaders in philosophy, it will not pay to make the attempt. It arouses passions and controversy that might as well sleep. We doubt not there are many who would resent it if either the biographer or his reviewer should undertake to point out any errors in the subject of this memoir. But a thorough biography embraces mistakes as well as evidences of wisdom, failures as well as successes. It cannot be denied that the last twenty years in American history have been full of grand opportunities. Have they been seized and improved? If ever American ecclesiastical history is written—which, judging from the past and the inherent difficulties of the subject, we doubt—it will appear that the great civil war was as largely religious as political, and that obstacles to a speedy and thorough reconstruction after the war was over were more social and—not religious, but—ecclesiastical than they were political. Had the great religious organizations of the country been more mobile and elastic, and had leaders appeared equal to the occasion, what might have happened? But the field of unaccomplished history is infinite. It is well, however, to remember that success does not always settle the right, nor is the best that has been done always the best that might have been done. Successes are portrayed; failures have no historian.

French writers, it is claimed, excel in the piquancy and vitality of their memoirs. They are breathing photographs. Recklessness of public opinion produces sincerity, an illustration of the maxim that extremes meet. In the English language, biographies have been too often artificial and stilted. Especially in the lives of religious men we are compelled to

"look through a glass darkly." All the errors and faults are invisible. Carlyle indignantly exclaims: "Nay, our very biographies, how stiff-starched, foisonless, hollow! They stand there respectable; and what more? Dumb idols, with a skin of delusively painted wax-work; inwardly empty, or full of rags and bran. Life-writing has dwindled into the sorrowfulest condition; it requires a man to be some disreputable, ridiculous Boswell, before he can write a tolerable life."

We do not subscribe to this jeremiad, but acknowledge that much of so-called religious biography, especially that prepared for juvenile literature, is a kind of water-color portraiture that suggests neither soul nor even good flesh and blood.

But it is a difficult task to present on paper the merit of such a life as that of Bishop Clark. It was not like a soldier's—full of physical adventure. It was not like a politician's—attended by noise and pretense. He was not a combatant. He was a man who sought the largest results with the least possible commotion. Those who knew him best recognized in him a man of clearly-defined convictions, unhesitating confidence in his opinions, and unconquerable will. The times and circumstances in which he lived did not call upon him to invent a new system, so much as to work skillfully one already constructed, and adapt it to new exigencies. He had the most thorough confidence in the doctrines and polity of the Church. He sought, in a very limited degree, to perfect its machinery and to enlarge its influence, and through it to secure the salvation of men. In many respects the biographies of the most useful men are the least thrilling, on the sublime principle that he that findeth his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for Christ's sake shall find it.

It was a severe shock to the Church that the three bishops elected together in 1864, Clark, Thomson, and Kingsley, should all be so soon and so suddenly called away. In many respects they were dissimilar, in some respects strikingly alike. Alike in industry, in earnestness, in unselfishness, in piety, each had his own peculiar elements of power. Kingsley was the embodiment of good sense. Healthy and hearty and full of kind feeling, hating sin but loving the sinner, he won his way to the hearts of preachers and people by his unaffected simplicity and genuine goodness. Thomson, intellectual, polished, keen; a man

of original thought and expression, not unmixed with some eccentricities and weakness; shrinking from controversy, and never aspiring, nor indeed fitted, to lead; a superb rhetorician and orator wholly consecrated to Christ. Clark, the most massive of all. Deliberate, comprehensive, and, when a decision was reached, immovable. All were fitted for their work. Neither would abuse or betray a trust. In their hands the character of the Church, so far as it was committed to them, was safe. Clark and Kingsley were about equally active in the origination of policy.

We have spoken above of the uniqueness of the office of Methodist Episcopacy. Bishops in the primitive Church seem to have been generally pastors, each of one society, and the superintending of others was limited and subordinate. They lost nothing, and gained little, by the addition of episcopal duties. Bishops in other branches of the Church in modern times are diocesan. But the Methodist Episcopacy is a general superintendency. Each is bishop of the whole Church. Divisions of territory, or allotments of specific duty, are temporary, as agreed upon by the whole body. The only limit to it is that their residences shall be in certain specified places, so as to secure their distribution throughout the territories of the Church, as well when at home as when engaged in official labor. On this account it has been claimed by some that bishops should not be men of marked idiosyncracies. They should be conservative, deliberate, well balanced; men of talent rather than genius; of whose sound judgment, as well as of whose piety, there should be no well-founded suspicion.

But it should be remembered that so long as the "superintendence" is truly "general," every conference and every part of the field will enjoy the supervision of every bishop. The harmony of the system demands an itinerant episcopacy. When that ceases—as we trust it never will—a fatal blow will be struck to all itinerancy. If episcopal districts are ever made, it will be necessary to provide that no incumbent shall have charge of a district more than one quadrennium at a time. Otherwise, the whole fabric of itinerancy will be likely to disappear. Marked individualities in the bishops, under the system of a general superintendency, will be of great advantage, even as they are in an itinerant pastorate. Heavy blows of

different kinds, succeeding each other, with one object in view, produce the best result. We are much inclined to think that Bishop Clark's administration in the South, in the earliest days of reconstruction, was the best possible then, as it certainly was remarkably successful; but, perhaps, it would not have been well that he with his strong convictions should have been made permanent bishop of that region. In all this we see the wonderful elasticity and strength—all strong systems are elastic—of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Orthodoxy is better secured in a ministry by itinerancy than by the strongest written creed imaginable. So itinerancy in the episcopacy is the best preservation of vitality and spiritual power.

Fortunate has the Church been hitherto in its bishops. As the roll-call is repeated there come out before us a succession of men, not yet large in numbers, not all remarkably brilliant in genius or eminent for erudition, but yet having among them men unsurpassed in their day in sound and various thought, all strong in faith, in good works, in powerful influence upon their times. The apostolic Asbury has never been surpassed in travel and toil, and in the permanent result of his labors; others have equaled him in zeal, and if they have fallen short it has been only in opportunity.

We care not to show how the Church may languish and decline, or to inquire whether, if the world should suffer such a calamity, the disease would begin in the head, or heart, or extremities. The whole body and soul will be strong or weak together. We do not fear a decline. The sources of its strength are infinite. It can and will bear the temptations of numbers and wealth. It will not falsely seek purity by voluntary poverty or voluntary ignorance. It will seize upon all elements of power and consecrate them to the Master. It will avoid the errors of the past, and, we trust, boldly resist and overcome the new temptations of its own day. History repeats itself; history never repeats itself. Both maxims are true. Principles abide; illustrations vary. Laws are permanent; phenomena are ever new. The modern Church will not revive the dead or dying errors of the ancient days. There will never be other Dark Ages. The papacy may declare itself infallible, but its past follies will be explained away and denied by its successors,

and there will never be a second papacy. The great sins of the future—if, unhappily, “offenses must come”—will not be the sins of the past. Our trust is in the great Head of the Church. Certainly, we read nothing but encouragement in the life and death of such a man as Bishop Clark.

The close of the Bishop's life was in perfect harmony with all that had preceded. Not merely for an hour or a day, but for several weeks, after having toiled till his physical strength was exhausted, he was permitted to linger with his family and show what support and comfort, in the severest physical pain, Christ gives to his disciples. When reluctantly compelled to leave a conference room and cease his labors, after a short time of meditation he said, “I have been down close to the shore, and looked out upon the GREAT HEREAFTER.” In answer to the inquiry how it looked, he said: “My feelings are best expressed by some lines of poetry that appeared in the *Ladies' Repository* a good many years ago.” He then repeated, with a good deal of feeling, some eloquent stanzas which have now become associated with his name.

For several weeks the chamber where he met his fate seemed, indeed, “close on the verge of heaven.” He betrayed no fear, no anxiety, and his peace and joy were eminently rational and Christian. His counsel to his children was full of affection and wisdom. How fitting it was that he who had written “DEATH-BED SCENES” should utter as his last words: “Tireless company! Tireless song! The song of the angels is a glorious song. It thrills my ears even now. I am going to join the angels' song. Glorious God! Blessed Saviour! Bless the Lord, O my soul! Bless the Lord, O my soul!” Thus the good man fell asleep.

Dr. Curry closes his work by an admirable portraiture of the character of Bishop Clark. As we have examined the work only in proof-sheets, our observations on the same subject have been made independent of this description of the Bishop's “personal characteristics,” and we are gratified to find that on the subjects spoken of in common there is substantial agreement. The concluding chapter of the book is, perhaps, the most valuable. It sums up the chief parts, and leaves a vivid picture in the mind not easily forgotten.

We cannot forbear to quote the following brief summary of

his elements of character, which corresponds with our opinions as given above :

He was mentally a hard worker, accomplishing his successes by diligent study rather than by rapid advances. He was just the opposite of the confessed genius, for he made only a steady and measured progress in his studies, but more than compensated by persistent industry for any lack of the peculiar aptitudes of more brilliant but erratic minds. His acquisitions, whether of learning or culture, were all elaborated—wrought out by steady and earnest blows rather than seized by sudden efforts. His mind was characterized by robust vigor, much more than by either quickness to seize its point of pursuit, or fineness of touch to appreciate its more delicate properties. In his school studies, he excelled in the pure mathematics and in metaphysical investigations more than in the pursuits that required especially the æsthetical qualities. As a preacher, he inclined to clearness of doctrinal statements, and earnest argumentations where the logical faculty was especially called into exercise. Even his most forceful exhortations consisted chiefly in the presentation of reasons to induce those addressed to accept the offers of salvation.

His intellectual aptitude to apprehend truth was united with a very large measure of conscientiousness. He clearly apprehended what were the ethical aspects of every subject submitted to his decisions, and whatever his moral perceptions sanctioned as right the authority of his conscience at once dictated should be done. His piety could not, by any normal process, have taken upon itself the sentimental type. Duty, not feeling, was his governing impulse ; to do, rather than to contemplate, was his worship ; and in all things to reduce to practice the principles of truth and righteousness, rather than to follow out his emotional impulses, was according to the habit of his whole moral being. This character of his heart, while it gave great clearness to his convictions of right and duty, pretty certainly secured him from misjudgments. He saw the right too clearly to be misled by the popular opinions of his times, and was uniformly in advance of his generation in detecting the moral relations of almost every mooted question ; and whatever his judgment decided to be the right, to that he was compelled to adhere by all the force of his moral intuitions. He was, therefore, at once courageous and cautious in declaring the truth, and inflexible in maintaining the right, agreeable to his honest and sincere convictions.—Pp. 313, 314.

The Church still demands workers like Bishop Clark. The record of his life is full of encouragement to our young ministers. It was not needful that the *imprimatur* of Bishop should have been put upon him to crown his life with success. He was as great and as useful when principal of a seminary, (according to his ability at the time,) when pastor of several Churches, when

a quiet deviser and enforcer of plans for the benefit of his fellow-men, when the writer and compiler of books, when the editor of the "Repository," as he was when presiding over Conferences and giving shape to one of the general enterprises of the Church. Had he pursued either one of his earlier lines of activity with unbroken continuity to the end of his days, he would probably have accomplished as much for God and humanity as he did by his more varied work and in his more conspicuous position. He was never, perhaps, more useful than when pastor in the New York Conference, and his success always arose from his fidelity to duty and steady toil.

The work of Dr. Curry in faithfully and sympathizingly recording the labors of his friend, and we might almost say his elder brother, deserves the thanks of the Church. It is a valuable contribution to American ecclesiastical history. It will take its place with Clark's "Life of Hedding," Ridgaway's "Life of Cookman," and others of the kind, from which many will receive encouragement and inspiration. It shows us Bishop Clark as he was, and makes no effort to present him as he was not. It does not hold him up as a genius, unless industry is genius; nor as an orator, unless the power to speak so as to produce conviction and action is all there is of genuine oratory; nor as a profound scholar, unless the mastery of what applies immediately to the subject under consideration in its practical requirements is erudition; but it does present him as a man of well-disciplined mind, a man of action, master of himself, a man of pure motives, faithful to his convictions, and of great administrative power. He wasted few words. He was always employed, never triflingly employed. He deserves the monument, more lasting than marble, erected in his biography by his appreciative fellow-worker and friend.

ART. II.—OUR WORK AT THE SOUTH.

AT the close of the Rebellion the religious condition of the South was one of destitution. Of the white population, a large portion of those who had assumed to be its ministers were either slain in battle or had returned to a secular life. The colored population had been accustomed to look to those ministers for all the consolation they could hope for in this life, and though their minds were a blank to some of the sublimest teachings of Christianity, they had often heard of Christ's sympathy with the afflicted, and of recompense and joy beyond the toils and crushing burden of their sad lot. When the voices of the Southern pulpits were hushed as they were for them, they felt that hopeless darkness and bitterest death were all about them. In this, the most mysterious and embarrassing hour of their life's experience, they listened, O how intently! for any voice that might give them, by its gentleness and wisdom, the promise of guidance and cheer. This wail of want was too loud and imploring to fail in reaching the listening ear of Christians at the North. The various philanthropic bodies in and clustering around the Churches in the conquering States consulted, purposed, acted. An army of Christian laborers was equipped and dispatched to the field.

It were easy to fill the space allotted to this article in enumerating the agencies and commending the sacrifices and successes of our colaborers in this new arena of heroic endeavor. Our brethren of the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Congregational orders have displayed a liberality in founding missions among the freedmen, and a perseverance and wisdom in their maintenance, worthy of the great success with which their labors have been crowned. The Congregationalists, working chiefly through the American Missionary Association, have expended at the South, since the commencement of the war, and exclusively among the freedmen, no less than two million six hundred and forty-two thousand four hundred and thirty-eight dollars—nearly three millions of dollars! Taking the average of the twelve years from the time they began their work, which was as soon as the first foot of South Carolina territory was re-shadowed and re-protected by the Union flag, they have

munificently expended over two hundred and twenty thousand dollars a year. Among the colored people themselves we have the efficient assistance of the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church of America, the latter being under the especial tutelage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. So far as these Churches confine themselves to the work of educating, elevating, and regenerating the people, their efforts are to be hailed with gladness, and we are bound by every Christian consideration to aid and encourage them in their work. It is only a narrow prejudice that would wish for a diminution of laborers, or that would have those already in the field labor under other leaders than those to whom they have already become allied by ties which to them at least are precious. There is work for all, and more work than all can ever thoroughly accomplish. But some of these well-intended agencies would do well to ask themselves if it is their legitimate work that engrosses their talents and furnishes the outlet for their means; for, so far as they devote themselves to creating animosities, or catering to the prejudices growing out of either doctrine, discipline, or, worse than all, color, they are a surplusage and a curse.

It is to be feared that those who sympathized with the South in its great but unsuccessful struggle, and many of those who, at the present day, are attached to it by ties of family or commerce, regard our presence there as a breach of Christian courtesy and pledged faith. For such, the only vindication our labors can demand is the simple recital of facts found in the sequence of this article. It will be seen that the work was thrust upon us by an imperious Providence. If we are "intruders"—the old cry with which all who have worked nobly for God and humanity have ever been greeted—we have the satisfaction of knowing that we are working in company with the most excellent and evidently God-approved men of most, if not all, our sister Churches. With the exception of the Episcopal Church, which has never, to say the least, been very enthusiastic in any kind of aggressive labor, there is not an evangelical Church in the land that has not with us entered this invitingly open door. The ministers and laborers of every denomination in Christendom stand side by side with us from the Potomac to the Gulf. In our case, as in numberless other

instances in the history of apostolic Churches and apostolic men, what is looked upon as an intrusion, and hated and treated accordingly, ought to be hailed as an advent and applauded as a mission of mercy and love. There can be no valid reason alleged why we should not preach our Gospel, open our churches, and establish our schools in South Carolina, Virginia, and Florida, as well as in Massachusetts and Maine. Reasons have been advanced and stoutly maintained, based upon alleged stipulations, which stipulations the Methodist Episcopal Church, in her authoritative councils, has never recognized, and the invalidity of which has been demonstrated again and again. It may not be known to all, nor even to those supposed to be best informed in such matters, though the fact is unquestionable, that the war left at the South a large number of Methodist ministers who had served in the army as post and regimental chaplains; and that to these very men, rather than to the ministers born on their own soil, the colored people turned, recognizing in them their natural protectors and friends. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had she been willing, was utterly unable to provide for the newly-enfranchised millions who lay at her gates. In addition to those who fell on the field of battle, great numbers of her ministry, shortly after the cessation of hostilities, died of those diseases which disappointment and privation engender. If the Church claiming to be the Methodist Church at the South had been able to grant that for which her now outcast colored members clamored, she was not willing to give it to them. They asked that they might have the Gospel preached, and that the sacraments might be administered to them, under such conditions as their altered circumstances and the issues of the war entitled them to expect and demand. This Church said to them through her official boards, through her pastors and chief ministers, We will preach to you, on the condition that you will, as heretofore, sit apart from your white brethren in a high gallery, and stipulate only to enter that gallery by the separate door which we have carefully provided for you in a convenient but obscure corner. We will preach to you, if you will allow us to do it, at an hour when we are not engaged with the whites, if you will be satisfied with the basement or a separate building of any kind. We will administer

the sacraments to you of course, only subject to the condition that you present yourselves for that holy ordinance after the whites have all communed, or if you will come to us at an hour which we will specially designate, so as to avoid any mingling with those of Christ's flock who have a light skin, and whose right, in this matter of color, we would rather die than abridge or invade. Is it a marvel that the Gospel which these black and brown Christians had so long heard should have quickened something of their manhood into outspoken life? Is it strange that, being offered the Gospel thus turned to stone, and proffered the sacraments thus made a mockery, they turned to other and, in this regard at least, more Christ-like men, and said to them, We must not, cannot, will not starve; feed us with the bread of life; open your churches and we will fill them; send your preachers and we will support them; the time for the anti-Christian distinctions, which the Southern Church would impose upon us, has passed; we will now only hear those who recognize our manhood, and who in Church boards and Church councils, in the pulpit, and at the table of our common Lord, treat us as brethren indeed, beloved and cared for, partners of a like precious faith with themselves? The ex-chaplains and local preachers (and of the latter there were many among the officers and subalterns of the army) did as men situated as they were could not hesitate to do. Hearing this clamorous cry for the Gospel and for the ordinances, they preached to the people; they baptized their children; they married them; they administered the communion to them; they read the solemn burial service of the Church over thousands of them; and regarding them, as they really were, sheep whom the shepherd had deserted, or for whom the shepherd did not care, organized them into classes; and these classes became, by natural accretions and consolidations, the Churches of the land. Who does not see that the foundation of our Church at the South was laid by God's own hand?

If ever God's providence spake imperatively, it so spake to the departed Lewis and his immediate coadjutors. T. W. Lewis entered the city of Charleston with the conquering Union army only to find in it empty churches, deserted school-houses, scattered and abandoned flocks. For weeks, if not for months,

neither white nor black could have had a pastor's prayer, a minister's blessing, a sacrament, or even a Christian burial, if he had not been there to supply them all. God, and the people of God, said, Occupy these empty churches; fill these deserted pulpits; gather and feed this scattered flock of our Lord Jesus Christ. In the name of the blessed Trinity he took possession, set up amid "war's wild alarum" the standard of the "old John Wesley Church," and invited men, women, and children of every race and color to rally around it. The trust thus imposed upon the Methodism of the North can never be betrayed. The position thus gained by it can never be surrendered. Those on whom devolves the task of continuing, and completing if they may, the work so heroically and providentially begun, have caught a descending mantle, and listen only to the God who says to them, as he said to the first evangelists of their faith, "Lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

The enthusiasm with which the re-establishment of our Church was greeted on the coast soon spread inland, crossing broad rivers and uttering its hosannas on mountain tops. The men on whom now rested the responsibility of furnishing the newly liberated millions of the South with the means of grace soon found the work growing beyond their means and ability of management. Large plantations, villages, country towns, cities, asked service at their hands. They soon found that they must have help. Naturally, they made their first appeal to the authorities of their Church at home. The episcopacy and the Church boards were compelled to consult together. Some few in authority—and, thank God! it was but few—said, Send preachers South! What right have we there? Have we not surrendered that territory? Why, it would be a breach of our most solemn pledges! Others, wiser, better versed in ecclesiastical law, more familiar with the true history of the "great secession," and, above all, more deeply imbued with the zeal of the fathers and more thoroughly baptized with the true apostolic spirit, declared by word, by pen, and by executive action, that the neglected flocks at the South must be cared for. Said they, Let us first of all send these suffering servants of our common Lord food and clothing; then let us help them to establish and maintain schools; let us build them churches, and

endow them with a Gospel ministry. So far as the Methodist Episcopal Church is concerned, the immediate outwork of this demand, and of the spirit with which it was hailed, was the establishment of a department of missionary labor awkwardly entitled the "third class" of missions; that is, a class of missions neither foreign (first-class) nor domestic (second-class.) After numberless consultations and much prayer, a goodly number of judicious men were selected from those already on the ground, who, after receiving personal instruction from some one of our general superintendents, three of whom at least went through large portions of the South, undertook the work of general organization. Circuits were laid out, institutions of learning founded, conferences were organized, and a great work was begun, having a large, bold outline, stretching from the Atlantic seaboard to the mountains at the West, encompassing the Gulf, touching Mexico, embracing Texas, (an empire in itself,) and sweeping up the valley of the Mississippi to the great prairies of the West. Let us look at our

SUCCESS.

In the territory thus outlined let it be remembered that what we now have is, to a very great extent, so far as the Church of Christ is concerned, a net gain. Prior to the war we had church buildings and other material property, but no membership, no ministry. It does not detract from the value of what we now have that we have it in territory over which other Churches claim jurisdiction, for what we have acquired has not to any noticeable extent been withdrawn from those Churches, but gained from the circles of indifference and impiety by the aggressive and self-denying labors of men doing real pioneer work.

It is not claimed that the information now presented to the Church and to the Christian philosopher for profound consideration is absolutely free from all minor inaccuracies; it may be that one or more conferences are omitted that ought to have been embraced. The tables, however, are honestly compiled from authentic and official documents, and cannot in any essential particular mislead.

Our Membership.—The relative importance of each depart-

ment of the work will be best determined by giving each conference separately: *

Conferences.	Members.	Probationers.
Alabama.....	9,052	1,536
Florida.....	1,670	537
Georgia.....	13,636	3,248
Holston.....	20,233	2,859
Kentucky.....	15,636	2,828
Louisiana.....	8,760	2,009
North Carolina.....	7,255	1,008
South Carolina.....	21,344	4,679
Tennessee.....	10,166	1,602
Texas.....	11,882	2,264
Virginia.....	4,799	924
Mississippi.....	26,446	3,897
Washington.....	22,136	2,698
Lexington.....	6,830	1,243
Delaware.....	12,223	954
Members....		192,068
Probationers.....		32,286
Total.....		224,354

It will be seen from the above table that there has been gained for the Methodist Episcopal Church by its laborers in the South in about seven years nearly a quarter of a million of members. We know of no growth recorded in the history of the Church that anything like equals it. It is a most marvelous second pentecost.† Of the fifteen conferences enumerated the Mississippi and the South Carolina are the largest, the former having an aggregate of over thirty thousand, and the latter of more than twenty-six thousand members. These are startling figures. If possible, the proportion of probationers to the full membership of the respective conferences is more extraordinary still, the South Carolina Conference having nearly five thousand probationers and the Mississippi Conference nearly four thousand. The Church at the South is evidently in its formative state. What a noble harvest! not filched from other Churches, but gathered out of the kingdom of Satan. Thirty thousand souls! and these are mostly the converts of a single year. If the fact was not beyond all gainsaying, the temptation to doubt it would be sore.

* General Minutes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1872-73. Of the latter (1873) the writer has been favored with proof-sheets.

† Before the division of the Church we had only 118,904 colored members.

OUR MINISTRY.

Conferences.	Travelling.	Local.
Alabama	67	165
Florida
Georgia	77	177
Holston	92	234
Kentucky	92	176
Louisiana	65	186
North Carolina	38	53
South Carolina	106	211
Tennessee	75	176
Texas	98	143
Virginia	53	62
Mississippi	123	339
Washington	109	177
Lexington	43	44
Delaware	53	163
Total	1,091	2,306

There are in all 3,397 ministers—more than some of the oldest Churches on the continent can claim. And yet this babe is but seven years old. What may we not expect the manhood of such infancy to be!

The writer has no means of determining how many of these thirty-three hundred ministers belong to the South, that is, were born and cultured there. Strike off the three hundred for transfers from the conferences of the North—that, without doubt, far exceeds the actual number—and it still leaves three thousand ministers as the full ripe fruit of this rich soil. Most, if not all, the local preachers are plain, unlettered men, whom our Methodism, as is its wont, has lifted up from the most humble walks of life. Not a few are from the mechanic's bench or the blacksmith's anvil, and multitudes of them have been common plantation hands. These are men of hard common-sense and genuine piety. They are natural orators and sweet singers, whom common people love to trust and implicitly follow.

Our Property.—This table is exclusive of universities, colleges, schools, and lands belonging to educational institutions:

Conferences.	Churches.	Property.
Alabama	131	\$27,630
Florida	33	17,085
Georgia	159	80,001

Conferences.	Churches.	Property.
Holston	183	\$148,175
Kentucky	148	408,550
Louisiana	61	207,403
North Carolina	81	29,825
South Carolina	160	111,932
Tennessee	151	158,538
Texas	60	72,650
Virginia	105	115,550
Mississippi	157	138,305
Washington	164	408,790
Lexington	50	132,850
Delaware	157	141,013

This gives the Southern work eighteen hundred churches, with \$2,198,297 worth of Church property. This is, of course, inclusive of parsonages, the number of which is not enumerated, but does not include cemetery and burial-ground property, which as yet no conference has included in its statistics. Much of this property is in our large cities, and at the centers of trade and influence. It has all been purchased in a depreciated market. Some of it has been sold to us at far less than its market value. It is fair to presume that it will greatly increase in value from year to year.

Annual Contributions to Missions.—In this table we arrange the conferences according to the measure of their giving:

Conferences.	Amounts.	Conferences.	Amounts.
Kentucky	\$2,712 75	Florida	\$286 25
South Carolina	2,650 19	Mississippi	278 28
Washington	1,729 74	Georgia	269 38
Tennessee	836 84	North Carolina	201 95
Virginia	722 14	Lexington	54 70
Texas	597 55	Alabama	2 50
Louisiana	573 80	Holston
Delaware	375 55		

This gives an aggregate missionary collection for one year of \$11,291 82, a larger amount than the entire income of the Missionary Society for several of the first years of its history. Why the contributions should be so small in some of the largest conferences, while they are so generous in Kentucky and South Carolina, is worthy the special thought of the three able secretaries now in charge of the Missionary Department. Perhaps a personal reconnoissance of the ground in detail would solve and remedy all that is anomalous. The Church will soon

be convinced that, though she has increased her corps of missionary secretaries, there is an imperative necessity for adding yet another who shall reside at the South and have especial supervision of her interests there.

It will be seen from the foregoing tables that we have at the South fifteen annual conferences, 1,091 traveling preachers, 2,306 local preachers, 1,800 churches, over two millions of church property, and nearly a quarter of a million of Church members. In this article no note has been taken of our great educational work, which has assumed too great a magnitude to be incorporated with Church work proper. In that department there are almost as great wonders of achievement and pecuniary growth as in the higher one now under review. The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church has done a work that will make its name forever precious among the colored population of the South, but it must write its own history and tell to the world its own story.

THE COST.

The only way to approximate the expenditure of the Church in achieving this noble result is to take the sum of the appropriations of the Mission Board to this department from the year 1864, when the first appropriation was made, to the year 1873, inclusive. In 1864 the appropriation for the third class of missions was \$30,000; in 1865, \$35,000; in 1866, \$40,300; in 1867, \$155,000; in 1868, \$139,000; in 1869, \$75,000; in 1870, \$104,400; in 1871, \$108,900; in 1872, \$164,000; in 1873, \$118,000. It will be seen that the last appropriation is \$46,000 less than that of the previous year. To these appropriations must be added \$20,000 appropriated by the Missionary Society in 1866 for the education of ministers, a work now assumed by the Freedmen's Aid and other educational societies; also \$70,000 granted to the South in 1867 for the building of churches, a department now exclusively belonging to the Church Extension Society. From these generous appropriations made by the Mission Board of the Church must be deducted all unexpended appropriations and the collections for missions made in the fifteen Southern conferences. It will be found, after these additions and deductions are made, that the

Mission Board has expended in this great work about nine hundred thousand dollars. To this we must add, as being within the department of Church-work proper, the grants of the Church Extension Society. We purposely leave out its loans, which will be paid to the last dollar. We also purposely leave out the expenditure of the Freedman's Aid Society, because, in our summing up of results, we take no note of the value of our educational property, largely purchased for us by that society and its friends. It is proper to note, however, that this society has expended, in the six years of its existence, \$370,243, of which \$160,000 have been permanently invested in academical and collegiate property. It appears from the sixth annual report of the Board of Church Extension of the Methodist Episcopal Church that that board has devoted to this work up to January 1, 1872, \$100,000; in 1873, \$30,700. To this add the amounts expended by the Sunday-School Union and Tract Society, \$14,000 and \$7,500 respectively, and the grand aggregate of the cost of our Southern work, since its inception to the present time, is a little over one million of dollars; in figures, \$1,052,200. This is a munificent sum, truly; still the American Missionary Association has done better by a million and a half of dollars. The last fact, which is a most inspiring one, is mentioned, lest we should glory above measure. The great Methodist Church has done well, but she has by no means reached up to her true altitude of generous giving. If she had fostered this work, and made sacrifices for it, after the fashion of some less noted neighbors, great as are her harvested results, they might have been fourfold greater.

NEEDS.

1. *A cessation of all hostilities and a suspension of all controversies.* The former we ask of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which persists in misunderstanding and misrepresenting our work. The latter we must impose upon ourselves. Our work is not the mere building up of a denomination; it is something higher and nobler. Antagonizing other established and orthodox branches of the Church of Christ belittles us, and is an evident prostitution of our functions as true ministers of Jesus Christ. Our missionaries have no right to re-

gard themselves as sent to "disintegrate" or "absorb;" and it is cheering to the writer to know that he has not come in contact with a single man in all the South who regards his work as embracing so dishonorable a task. There is room for every existing Church. The field is wider and whiter than all united can encompass, much less reap. The need of the South is not controversialists to rasp, irritate, and sever; of such she has had too many already. She needs men set on fire by the "enthusiasm of humanity," or, what is a thousand times better, men glowing with a radiance which the baptism of the Holy Ghost imparts. The union, organic or otherwise, of the various Methodist bodies at the South, is so seemingly a Christian duty, essential to the silencing of a blatant infidelity, and, at the same time, in view of the spirit and temper of the body most nearly equaling our own in number and culture, so seemingly *not* a Christian duty, that it involves too wide an area for discussion to be entered upon here.

The angry and vapid discussion of questions growing out of the extraordinary character of the work is an evil of no small magnitude. Controversies as to separate conferences, promiscuous sittings, and all kindred issues, only serve to complicate our relations with the people, and thus embarrass us in our work. What our ministers have to do at the South, one and all, is to carry out in good faith, and firmly, the clearly pronounced policy of the Church as to caste. All minor questions may be safely left to settle themselves, or be relegated to the limbus of dead issues. If a preacher objects to sitting in a conference with colored brethren, he can seek a transfer to one where he will not be so annoyed. No impediment will be thrown in the way of his going. And if, on the other hand, a colored brother has objections, as he may have, and that very innocently, to seeing the white men in the ascepdant in his annual conference, he can easily find one where those of his own complexion have all but the exclusive control. The true wisdom is that which the Church has formulated in her Discipline and recorded General Conference action. As in the Discipline, and elsewhere, the question of color is ignored altogether, so let it be ignored in all our annual conferences and every-where. Let our relations to Churches and conferences be fixed by reference to other and more important

standards. It is maintained in favor of mixed conferences, and the argument is an unanswerable one, that they are a standing, unmistakable testimony against caste in the Church. On what ground can we make "separate" conferences, except as an overruling Providence may make them? If they are made "separate," on what principle can we keep them so? If a colored man should seek admission into any of our conferences, North, East, West or South, having the required moral, Christian, and educational qualifications, could he be refused admittance because of his complexion? Bodily infirmity, and a score of other things, might be a valid plea for holding up a forbidding hand; color, in the Methodist Episcopal Church, thank God! can never be such a plea. So long as the fundamental law of the Church remains in force, and we believe it will remain unchanged in this regard until the dawn of the millennium, no one can shut the door of a single conference in a black man's face.

Again, if, in that part of our work where colored men constitute the majority, a white man believing that he is especially called of God to labor among people of color—and many white men have such a belief—should ask for admission to one of these separate conferences, could the black man say, or would he say, No; we will not have you; you are a white man; we cannot use you? Or, if he did say so, would he not be disloyal to his Church, his conscience, and his God?

Methodism is flexible enough in any locality to adjust itself to any and to all emergencies growing out of an altered and altering state of society, and it can meet with a becoming Christian deportment every social change that is made in accordance with the morality of the New Testament.

2. *More thorough and constant Episcopal and Secretarian Supervision.* Our true Christian workers at the South have no bitter complaints to make, nor do they indulge in anything like crimination. They do breathe out occasionally, however, a luxurious, "uncomplaining moan." The territory covered by our Southern conferences more than doubles that covered by all the other conferences east of the Mississippi. The question growing out of this extent of territory is not a question of episcopal residence, but rather of episcopal labor. The residence of one bishop in the heart or on the border of this territory,

though it amounted to a perpetual presence, would not meet the wants of the Church. For each of the past four years the episcopacy has given the South, say an average of two weeks to each conference, or an aggregate of ninety-six weeks of episcopal labor for twelve conferences during that time. But as we have had at least four different bishops, the average would be twenty-four weeks for each of them in four years. Nearly the whole of this time, small as it is, was spent in traveling to and fro, in presiding at the conferences and consulting with presiding elders. As to the secretaries of our various Church boards, the venerable secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society is the only one known to any extent at the South. Even the book agents fail to collect their bills by presenting them in person as in all other sections of the work.

The Church cannot long be carried on successfully in this section in this way. No blame can attach to the officers in question for this paucity of presence, least of all to the bishops. Previous to the re-enforcement of the Episcopal Board it was impossible that it should be otherwise, and since that time the new members of the board have had work assigned them in regions so remote, and embracing interests so important, that the South has had to endure her privations with what patience she could command. A remedy must be forthcoming, however, and that at once. Precisely what that remedy shall be, and how it shall be applied, the writer is not wise enough to determine. Something must be done or our interests are put in jeopardy to an extent too perilous to be looked at with equanimity. As an illustration of the pressure of this need, let the Church take her general minutes and look at what is called the Charleston District in the South Carolina Conference. This district includes the Sea Islands, and embraces all that territory from the Atlantic on the south to the junction of the Broad and Saluda Rivers at the north, and from the North Carolina line on the east to the Georgia line on the west. It has a membership of 15,698, or nearly sixteen thousand souls in one district! Supposing the presiding elder to be superhuman, he may reach the more prominent appointments on this wide territory three or four times a year, traveling innumerable miles, and hastily calling together official boards to be as hastily dismissed. As for meeting the more

minute and important obligations of his office, it were folly to ask or require any such impossibility.

A glance at the general minutes, as far as published, will show the striking anomaly of one district larger, as to membership, than any one of twenty annual conferences, twice as large as any one of twelve others, three times as large as either the Nebraska, North Wisconsin, Iowa, or Oregon Conferences, four times as large as the East Maine Conference, and *ten times* as large as the Colorado Conference. To secure the proper division of this (Charleston) district alone into six, or at least four, new districts, and to adjust equitably the various church-property questions that are springing up all over it, the personal presence of one of the bishops and an attendant secretary is needed for many continuous weeks. And as it is with this district and the South Carolina Conference, so it is with other conferences and districts in the South more remote. *Ab uno disce omnes.*

3. *A continuance, if not a great enlargement, of the Church's liberality as dispensed through the Church boards.* The Missionary Board, at its meeting in 1872, inaugurated toward the South a "cutting down" policy, which some of the bishops have not only adopted, but greatly aggravated at each Southern annual conference, by making further reserves on their own responsibility. This policy may have given its advocates a temporary reputation for stern economy, but it was nevertheless unwise and ill-timed. All the investments made by the Church at the South have *paid* beyond all previous experience, and they will continue to pay. In the face of such a showing as the South has made and can make, he who counsels a continued generous outlay will reap the true honor. Those on whom the labor and responsibility of organizing the work at the South have devolved are the men on whom the Church must continue to rely for many years to come for conducting all her aggressive movements. These men cannot live as plantation hands have been accustomed to live; they must at least have a moderate livelihood insured them. They have surrendered comforts to which for years they have been accustomed in Northern or Western homes. They are shut out to a great extent from white society, save that of those who are engaged in a like work with themselves. The Church has no

right to ask the class of men who are fitted by education and talent for this work to add to semi-apostolic labors and social ostracism the bitter pangs of an avoidable penury. An inability to raise the necessary funds could be the only ground on which the Church could ask such self-immolation; and the Methodist Episcopal Church would blush to mention such a plea. Scores of the best pastors, disciplinarians, theologians, and teachers of the Church ought to be thrown into the Southern conferences at once. This would beget a godly jealousy, a holy emulation. But the curtailing policy of the Church, by depriving these men of any hope of a decent maintenance, compels them to decline the field, and seek spheres of exertion where they could at least get bread and educate their children. If the work is left to fall into the hands of the inexperienced and inefficient, complications and disasters will inevitably follow, demanding a much greater outlay in the end than that which is necessary to comfortably support those already in the field, who with small reinforcements would meet every want.

4. *More men of apostolic spirit.* This is the greatest need. No man that despises the poor, or that is afraid to mingle with them, need turn his face southward. No scholarly precisionist, afraid of old-fashioned Methodist noise, or who would be shocked out of his propriety by an occasional shout, or even a sporadic outburst of extravagance, is fitted for this work. Such a one's nerves would be rasped at every class-meeting, and he would die writhing in agony at the very first camp-meeting he might attend. Let men having in them the old heroic spirit of Methodism come—come, if they please, by hundreds—and the Church will reap a harvest in ten years such as there shall not be room to contain. Her achievements in other fields have been glorious, in none perhaps more so than among the Germans and Scandinavians, but her achievements in this field will throw even those into paleness and insignificance. The descendants of the African race, on the Southern portion of our continent—the black, the yellow, and especially the brown man—are the most reliable and hopeful element in the land. They are being educated, they are acquiring property, and creeping up into all our positions of honor and trust. Of the dangers to which they are exposed, that of their going over to the Church of Rome is not one.

Roman Catholicism has no charms for descendants of African races. The Catholic Church has been established in Florida and South Carolina for two hundred years, and it is no larger to-day than it was thirty years ago. It takes no hold of the colored man. The great dangers are the séductions of vice, licentiousness, intemperance, and the fascinations and corruptions of the political arena. They are endangered by the gaudy displays of military and fire companies, by extravagance in dress, and by general carelessness in the use of money. The restraints thrown around them by a semi-ascetic religion, such a religion as the Methodist Church was raised up by Divine Providence to establish, conserve, and extend, is the instrumentality appointed of God to antagonize all these dangerous tendencies.

Nor are the whites to be forgotten. There is a work to be done among them, to the accomplishing of which we are called of God. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is not doing this work; it has not enough enthusiasm; it confines its ministry chiefly to cities and a few larger villages; it imagines that its necessities compel it to this course. That immense multitude of poor people, scattered through the barren regions of the South, called "mean whites," "sand-hillers," "crackers," or "clay-eaters," than whom a more deplorably neglected class is not to be found in the United States, of whose existence the outside world has but recently become aware, and for whose souls no man seems to care, needs our poor man's religion. In our cities there are large bodies of mechanics and laborers who are not invited or welcomed to any Church, but are rather repulsed from all. These are asking for a home—a Church home. Let the Societies of the North and West send into our pine barrens, into the tents of our turpentine gatherers, into our rice and cotton fields, where plowmen and hoe hands swelter under a semi-tropical sun; into our cities, where stevedores, cartmen, and mechanics crowd wharf and street and church—let them send men who, like our fathers, counted not even their lives dear unto them. Let them send their young, heroic men to preach in our log-cabins, our bush-arbors, our cane-brakes and rice swamps, and, with a modicum of their father's unction, a fragment of their father's zeal, they will reap results tenfold greater than have ever been reaped before.

ART. III.—THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

A UNIVERSAL instinct impels us to look wistfully into the future. We long to forecast the horoscope of nations as well as of men. And if these nations possess conspicuous advantages or exert important influence on the destiny of mankind, the study may be as instructive as it is interesting.

We are not without data of sublimest augury concerning the future of the American Union. The natural resources of the country are of exhaustless extent and of unparalleled richness. Its position is the most favorable in the world for national development. Stretching through twenty-five degrees of latitude, from the forty-ninth to the twenty-sixth parallel, if transferred to the Eastern continent it would reach from Germany to the middle of the Sahara, occupying the whole basin of the Mediterranean. Although the isothermal lines bend low down on the American sea-coast, yet in the interior they sweep upward again, making the climate mild and salubrious. Its northern regions lie under the constellation of the Great Bear, while the inhabitants of its low latitudes behold in their sky the sacred sign of the Southern Cross. From the Great Falls of the Missouri one may sail, without a single break of navigation, to the mouth of the Mississippi, a distance of over three thousand miles; as far as from London to the Gulf of Guinea or to Samarcand. This vast stream is supplemented by twenty-three thousand miles of internal navigation of its great affluents, penetrating the very heart of the country on either side.

One sailing down this great life artery of the continent will pass through all the varieties of climate to be found in the Old World, from St. Petersburg to Egyptian Thebes. He will pass from the giant firs of its upper waters, through deciduous forests of beech and maple, to the waving green and gold of the boundless wheat fields, and the countless flocks and herds of Minnesota and Illinois. He will glide past the spreading orchards of Missouri and Kentucky, glowing with golden fruit like that of the Hesperides. The broad leaves of the tobacco plant spread their rank luxuriance in Kentucky and Tennessee, and the snowy bolls of the cotton shrub whiten the

fields of Arkansas and Mississippi. The fragrant blossoms of the magnolia scent the breeze, and the glossy leaves of the laurel and myrtle, of the plantain and palmetto, delight the eye. In the lowlands of Louisiana stretch in endless vista the canebrakes of the sugar plantation. The parasitic mosses of the Southern cypress wave like funereal plumes through the sultry air. The houses of the planters are embowered amid orange groves, and flowers of unimaginable loveliness and wildest luxuriance breathe perfume on the charmed atmosphere. Amid the fever-breeding swamps near the mouth of the mighty stream spread fertile rice-fields, through the neighboring marshes wade tall birds of gaudy plumage, and on the low sandbars of the coast stalks the scarlet flamingo, gaunt and ghostly, in the lurid Southern sunset.

No other country in the world can boast such an extent of fertile soil, such a range of climate, and such a variety of products. They must for ever insure an internal traffic as important as that between Great Britain and the Levant.

Nor are the other great elements of national prosperity less lavishly bestowed. Along the Atlantic seaboard numerous excellent harbors create an unequalled facility for commerce with Europe and South America; and on the Pacific coast the noble bay of San Francisco will become the "golden gate" of boundless wealth toward the East. The deep-sea fisheries at once nourish a hardy race of mariners for manning the navy, and enrich the country by the finny wealth and spoils of ocean. The unrivaled river system of its central basin and Atlantic slope, and the great Northern lakes, furnish such facilities for internal commerce as can find no parallel on earth. These facilities have been still further developed by an extensive system of canals, but especially by that wonderful network of railways which extends its meshes over the entire East, and is rapidly stretching across the vast continent. Electric nerves thrill with intelligence throughout the whole country, connecting its remotest extremities with the great commercial and political sensoria. The fluctuations of the Gold Room in Wall-street are daily noted in every counting-house from New Orleans to St. Paul, from Eastport to San Francisco. A change in the cabinet at Washington is discussed the same evening in almost every hamlet in the Union.

The enormous hydraulic power of New England makes it the seat of vast manufacturing interests. The sails of American commerce whiten every sea, and her flag flouts the breeze under every sky, and is to the lonely wanderer in foreign climes

"As a friendly hand
Stretched out from his native land."

The mineral resources of the United States exceed in extent and richness those of all the world besides. This is sober truth and no rhetorical hyperbole. According to Sir Morton Peto, in his exhaustive work on the resources of America, the relative coal supply of all Europe and America is represented by the ratio of eight and three fourths to one hundred and eleven! The iron mountains of Missouri alone, according to the same eminent authority, are sufficient to furnish a million tons of manufactured iron per annum for two hundred years. The means for the development of this immense amount of unused wealth is found in the vast gold deposits of the Pacific coast and the slopes of the Rocky Mountains. In sixteen years, from 1848, when gold was discovered, and when of course the yield was comparatively small, to 1864, California alone produced the enormous sum of \$816,500,000. Since then it has been produced at an accelerated ratio, till it now amounts to about a hundred and fifty millions annually. The value of the silver, lead, quicksilver, and copper mines, and the astonishing yield of oil from the Pennsylvania wells, which pour out the precious fluid like water, swell the mineral wealth of the country to an enormous magnitude.

But the main sources of the national material prosperity are not beneath the earth, but are the products of its surface. The exuberant fertility of the virgin soil, enriched with the vegetable decay of ages, is such, that it needs only, in the language of Douglas Jerrold, "to be tickled with a hoe to laugh with a harvest." The wondrous chemical influences of the vast laboratory of nature transmutes the inorganic elements into the staple cereals of the world. The glorious wealth of unclouded sunshine produces that rapid fixation of carbon which so quickly ripens the grain.

The fertile territory of the United States, according to the official census, is about 2,000,000,000 acres, about one fourth of which, or 500,000,000 acres, is inclosed, and only one third of

this, or one twelfth of the whole, is under cultivation. Yet on this comparatively limited area were produced, in 1870, 174,000,000 bushels of wheat, and over 1,000,000,000 bushels of Indian corn. It was a saying of the first Napoleon that that man was a benefactor of his race who made two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before. If this be so, how great benefactors are those hardy pioneers who open up the great granary of the West, and thus cheapen bread for God's great family of the poor in all the markets of the world.

The most prolific cereal of America is its Indian corn, which should be the national emblem. It waves its graceful form, plumed and tasseled, like an Indian chief, from Superior to the Gulf. It is good for food, green or ripe, for man or beast. So abundantly is it produced, that it has been economically used for fuel! The immense pork crop of the West is but Indian corn in another form.

In the great staples of rice and sugar the contributions of the South are enormous. Of the former the yield in 1860 was 187,000,000 pounds. Of the latter Louisiana alone, where the sugar-cane is chiefly cultivated, produced over 230,000,000 pounds. Under the stimulus of free labor, the production of both these important staples will assuredly greatly increase.

But not only can America feed, she can also clothe, the world. The cotton crop of the South in 1860 was nearly 5,500,000 bales of 400 pounds each, and during the previous decade the yield had more than doubled. Notwithstanding the temporary depression of this industry during the war, such are the facilities for its cultivation in the South that cotton again is king, and the crop of the last year has almost equaled that of its palmyest days.

The true riches of the American Union, however, is its rapidly increasing population. The living energies of its people are required to develop its natural resources, to fell the forests, plow the glebe, and carry the blessings of civilization to the prairies of Nebraska and Dakota, to the mountains of Nevada and Colorado, and to those vast regions

Where roll the waters of the Oregon,
And hear no sound, save their own dashings.

The real sinews of a nation's prosperity are the human brawn of its inhabitants. The astonishing increase in the population

is the surest augury of the future prosperity of the Union. Since the beginning of the century that population has increased nearly eight hundred per cent. Nor is there any diminution in this rate of increase. On the contrary, the increase of the last census-decade was relatively, as well as absolutely, the greatest of the entire century, being from thirty-one and a half millions in 1860 to thirty-eight and a half millions in 1870.*

Of course this enormous increase is largely due to immigration. In fifty years, or from 1820 to 1870, the actual immigration was over seven millions.† The official statisticians of the United States compute that these immigrants brought into the country an increase to its cash capital of \$560,000,000, which is only the very moderate sum of eighty dollars each. But the greatest riches that they brought was their physical, intellectual, and moral powers. More than half of these immigrants were at the period of their greatest strength and vigor, namely, between fifteen and thirty years of age. Only ten per cent. were over forty.

This European immigration may be expected largely to increase. Hitherto three fifths of the whole has been from Great Britain. The present tendency indicates that other nations will largely swell the annual human tide that sets toward our shores.

The subjects of Continental despotism long for the liberty and manhood to be enjoyed under free institutions, and look with longing eyes to the great Republic, which stretches forth her arms of welcome to the oppressed of every clime, and will throw over the meanest that seek her protection the ægis of her power.

The increasing facilities for steam transit, and the numerous lines of travel opened up with Havre, Bremen, Hamburg, and other continental ports, will flood these shores with the surplus population of the old world. Indeed, emigration offers the only apparent solution of the most perplexing social questions of Europe, and especially of Great Britain. In that wealthy island, notwithstanding the many noble and costly

* More accurately, 38,555,983.

† During the decade previous to 1870 the annual average was about 200,000. In 1870 it was 387,203. In 1871, 321,350.

charities sustained by voluntary liberality, every twentieth man is a pauper, the work-houses are crowded, vagrant mendicancy throngs the streets, and the tide of poverty swells ever higher and higher. In the richest metropolis in the world squalid misery and wretchedness every-where confront the eye and harrow the soul. The problem of its relief is appalling in its magnitude and difficulty. But in America each new-comer is hailed as an addition to the wealth of the country, and may win on easiest terms a freehold homestead, and secure a plentiful provision for declining years.

These immigrants are intellectually quickened by the stimulus of remunerative industry, popular education, and free institutions. They disprove the old Horatian maxim, and change both mind and climate in crossing the sea. The admixture of Teuton and Celtic with the essentially Anglo-Saxon blood of the American people will tend to the development of a higher type of humanity, as the mingling of Dane, Saxon, and Norman in England resulted in a nobler nationality than any of the three. English travelers have observed the creation of a distinctively American type of face, with straight nose and forehead, small facial angle and a strongly marked intellectual expression, exceedingly like that of the ancient Greeks.

The material results of this immigration have been enormous. The impenetrable forests that stretched from the mountains of Maine to the everglades of Florida have fallen before the woodman's ax, save where preserved for timber or fuel. They have given place to stately cities, busy towns, and smiling villages; schools and colleges stand thick through all the land, and graceful spires on every side point evermore to heaven. And all this has been done within two hundred years, and most of it within fifty years. The pyramids of Egypt, the temples of Luxor and Karnak, are mere trifles compared with these herculean labors.

And the field for occupation is widening not only in the West, but in the South. The policy of the South has been averse to immigration. The genius of her peculiar institution required isolation, and made her exceedingly jealous of all foreign influence. Hence she became narrow, sectional, intensely bigoted in her antipathies, and extremely sensitive to any interference in her domestic polity. If foreign and North-

ern immigration and travel had been freely permitted during the last half century, it is probable that the late war would never have occurred, and that slavery would gradually have given place to free labor. In the last decade of the United States census before the war, the fifteen Slaveholding States increased only 27.33 per cent.; while the population of the Free States increased 41.24 per cent., showing the diversion of the tide of immigration from the former.

Some fears have been entertained lest the negro element in the South should increase so rapidly as to swamp the entire white population. Those fears are idle. Latest returns show that in the South the increase of the slave population in ten years was 23.44 per cent., while that of the whites was 30 per cent.; and throughout the entire Union the white increase was 38 per cent., and that of the free blacks, of which class there is no immigration, was only 11 per cent. From these statistics it is computed that in the year 1900 the population of the entire Union will amount to 100,000,000, while only 9,000,000 will be of the colored race, 17 per cent. of whom will be of mixed blood and of superior intelligence. Thus the relative proportion of the blacks, now nearly one seventh of the entire population of the country, will be reduced in thirty years to less than one eleventh.

As we compute with mathematical accuracy the problem of the increasing population of this continent, we arrive at results the sober certainty of which leave behind the wildest flight of the imagination. The child is now living who will lay his hand upon the child's head who shall see, within a hundred years, a population of 250,000,000 of souls, a number equal to the entire population of Europe, dwelling beneath the broad free banner of the Republic. But no Malthusian fear of overpopulation need be felt. Upon the ordinary computation that every acre will support five persons, the fertile acreage of the United States would maintain 10,000,000,000, or ten times the present population of the planet. But long before the maximum population of any country is reached the increased difficulty of procuring subsistence will bring the number of its inhabitants to a condition of statical equilibrium about which it will continue to oscillate.

In view of the unprecedented increase in wealth and popu-

lation of the United States, and its exhaustless natural resources, the present national debt amounts only, as Mr. Disraeli jauntily said of that of Great Britain, to a mere flea-bite. That debt at the close of the war was about \$3,000,000,000, or \$100 for each man, woman, and child in the Union. In October, 1872, it amounted to \$2,166,994,675, or only \$57 per head. At the same time the value of real and personal estate had increased from \$7,000,000,000 in 1850 to \$16,000,000,000 in 1860, and to about \$27,000,000,000 in 1870, or fourteen times the amount of the national debt. At a similar rate of increase the capital of the country in 1880 would be fifty times greater than the debt at that period, and in less than another decade that debt would disappear.

Such, then, being the resources and condition of the country, can any anticipations of its future be too glowing? It may be worth while to inquire, Are there any elements of danger or disaster in its prospects?

The tendency of large empires is toward disintegration. The variety of climate and productions creates different and frequently jarring interests, tastes, and feelings. One part of the country may engage exclusively in agriculture, another part may have especial facilities for manufactures, and the seaboard cities may be advantageously situated for commerce. The manufacturing interest may demand protection, while commerce and agriculture need free trade for their development. Thus an antagonism may arise between different sections, which may rend them asunder unless a comprehensive policy for the whole country is adopted.

Now agriculture is the chief industry of the United States. In it, according to the computation of Sir Morton Peto, based on the census returns, seven eighths of the population are engaged. Hence the impolicy, urges that distinguished political economist, of protecting the manufacturing interest, which is less than one eighth, at the cost of enhancing the expense of living to the entire population. Thus the price of labor is increased in the West, and the value of land and amount of its productions are lessened. Hence, too, the unwisdom of an export duty on cotton, any impediment to the growth and sale of which will materially retard the development of the South, which, as magnanimity would sug-

gest, and as interest demands, should be fostered as carefully as possible.

The interlacing of the web of internal commerce in America will tend to knit the remotest parts of the country together by the ties of a common interest. The intimate intercourse and constant communication it demands will remove prejudice and exert a humanizing and affiliating influence which will be an antidote to disintegration. "America is a giant without bones," said Talleyrand to the first Napoleon. But since then the bones have been supplied in the wonderful railway system that stretches across the continent. Other inter-oceanic lines will be speedily carried into operation. Their influence on the future will be incalculable. A ceaseless stream of traffic will throb along those iron arteries of commerce, and Christian institutions will rejuvenate the effete old nations of China and Japan. Great cities, renowned as marts of trade throughout the world, will stand thick along this highway of the nations. "The gorgeous Inde" and far Cathay will be brought almost to our very doors. The rival names of the merchant princes of New York and San Francisco will become "familiar as household words" in the bazaars of Yokohama and Yedo, of Benares and Allahabad.

The common language and literature, the free schools and free press of America, give a community of character to the entire people. From Pembina to Galveston the English tongue is spoken with a purity astonishing to travelers from the mother country, where the inhabitants of neighboring shires often can hardly understand one another.

The cheap postal system, the facilities for travel by rail and river, and, above all, the great principle of indissoluble Federal Unity enfibred in the national heart—a principle baptized with the blood of the great army of martyrs of the Republic—will rivet the bonds which unite the whole country. But the chief safeguard against a repetition of the dread experience of the civil war, is the removal of that strange anomaly of the nineteenth century—the reproach of America and the bane of its welfare—the system of domestic slavery. This social gangrene, which was eating out the nation's heart, extirpated, the pulses of health again throb, and fresh vigor courses through its veins.

It is a pseudo-philosophical opinion that small nations, such as the Greeks, the Swiss, the Dutch, are more patriotic than large ones; and that the migratory habits of Americans prevent the growth of those local affections which are necessary to strong love of country. But American patriotism is not a blind and unreasoning attachment to the mere soil of the country. It is an intelligent yet passionate devotion to its principles and institutions. Never did patriotism exhibit greater heroism, or make nobler sacrifices, than that manifested during the Great Rebellion.

The apprehension has been entertained by some philosophic writers that American civilization may be destined to a dire eclipse. It has been argued from a wide induction of facts that an inexorable law governs the fate of nations as of men; that decrepitude and decay terminate every national existence as certainly as death ends that of man. We think, however, that no induction from the past can be wide enough to arrive at such a universal law. The analogy between the life of nations and of men may furnish a beautiful simile, but we can hardly make it in the case of America a ground of prediction. There are causes of differentiation that here exert a potent influence. Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, all have passed away; but there were inherent weaknesses and vices in their political and ethical systems, subtle causes of disintegration and decay, which a wiser jurisprudence and a loftier ethical sentiment have eliminated from most modern societies. The great moral antiseptic of Christianity was wanting to keep those communities from corruption and dissolution.

The fear has also been expressed that America may outgrow her institutions; that those gentle restraints which suffice for the present may prove insufficient for the denser population and different condition of society of the future. The permanence of national institutions, however, does not depend on their rigidity, but on their flexibility and capability of self-adjustment to the necessities of the times. To this the genius of the American Government is eminently favorable. Most European countries seem to be cramped and fettered by institutions as inelastic and rigid as cast iron. The growing necessities of the nation are bound upon a Procrustean bed of ancient use and wont. The masses are kept in restraint by a

strange mixture of political feudalism and medieval ecclesiasticism. Hence much of European civilization is like the beautiful villages on the slopes of Vesuvius—beneath the thin crust is a fiery flood, which may burst forth in desolating fury. Those despotic governments may develop in their higher classes a lofty type of civilization and of intellectual and esthetic culture; but they are floating upon a slumbering volcano, a seething mass of popular discontent and passionate aspirations after liberty. And this volcano may burst forth in some terrific social earthquake, like that which in France, at the close of the last century, overturned both throne and altar in the dust, and which again has been recently exhibited in the Commune's carnival of blood.

In the American Union the government is but the instrument for carrying into effect the popular will. Hence the passionate enthusiasm with which, during the long years of the nation's agony and bloody sweat, the people rallied to its aid, blanching at no danger, flinching from no sacrifice. Republics, it has been remarked, are more self-conscious and more sensitive than monarchies. Foreign aggression or insult, therefore, is not regarded as a mere affair of state, to be settled by diplomats, but is made the private grievance of each individual. The shot fired at the honored flag that waved over Sumter was felt as a personal insult by every patriotic American. The murderous weapon that drank the blood of the martyred Tribune of the people pierced with an agony of grief each loyal heart. In republics each individual identifies his private interest with that of his country. The public acts of the nation, therefore, are not those of a small governing class, but of a whole people; and they thus possess an irresistible momentum.

The government of the United States is founded on reason, and not on physical constraint. The great work of the country is, therefore, the organization of its intellect by means of schools, colleges, scientific study, and all ennobling and liberalizing pursuits. It must educate all classes of society, or else the ignorant masses will act as a dead weight upon its progress. And the education imparted should be adapted to the existing state of knowledge, especially in the direction of modern science, and not founded upon the models of the me-

dieval schoolmen. Not external coercion, but intelligent self-restraint, is the safeguard of American society. Most European nations are controlled by a rigid, all-embracing system of police, which prescribes every act and reduces the man to an automatic machine. This theory of government is adapted only to children, idiots, and criminals. It does not depend on the co-operation or consent of the human will. It is degrading to the intellect and debasing to the morals. To an American this system of perpetual espionage and intrusive tutelage is intolerable. The very air seems like that of a prison. Amid the gayeties of the French or Austrian capital, he seems to hear the clank of the fetter, and the ominous presence of the ubiquitous *gens d'armes* is the symbol of slavery.

There is no danger of American institutions giving way, as has been feared, before the strain of a growing nationality, like a vase in which a seedling oak has been planted, which has become too large for its narrow prison. On the contrary, they are like the tree itself, ever evolving in symmetrical beauty new branches and leaves, and developing new flowers and fruit. Springing from the heart of the people, they will throb with the impulses of the age. They are not a lifeless trunk, but a living tree, through which vital currents flow.

This feature of the American character is highly favorable to its recovery from the effects of the civil war. The close of that deadly strife saw marshaled in serried phalanx an army of war-worn veterans, disciplined by a hundred battles, invincible in their strength, and enthusiastic in their attachment to their idolized leaders. Yet in a few weeks these armed hosts, at the command of the country, melted away like snow before the summer's sun, and were quietly absorbed into the mass of the people.* Prophets of evil foretold the establishment of a military dictatorship, and doubting or unfriendly critics expected a marauding guerilla warfare of the disbanded soldiers—a reign of anarchy and misrule. But both have been disappointed. The thunder-cloud of war, awful with bolts of wrath, quietly dissolved and sank into the earth, like so much sweet and grateful rain, to irrigate and bless the soil. The great military leader of the war was borne into the highest office of

* At present the entire army of the Republic consists of only 24,000 white and 2,500 black soldiers.

the country, not by the bayonets of the soldiers, but by the peaceful *plebiscitum* of the nation.

Thus, too, the deadly wound in the body politic, inflicted by the civil war, speedily healed—healed by first intention, as the surgeons say—without the long and painful process of suppuration and sloughing—of exile, confiscation, and retributive bloodshed. The dreadful trail of battle in the South was soon covered, by the gentle ministrations of Nature, with a wealth of herbage and of flowers. So the more dreadful effects of internecine strife on the human heart, let us hope, will soon be buried beneath a growth of gentle charities and sweet amenities of life. “Over blood shed upon the field of battle,” says Froude, “the grass soon grows; but blood shed upon the scaffold is never forgotten.” Let us thank God that the sublime magnanimity of the victorious Republic was sullied by no act of violence, by no blood spilt in revenge, not even that of the arch-traitor himself.

As with devout as well as philosophic eye we contemplate the changing drama of the age, we are compelled to discern the hand of Providence in the government of nations. Behind every secondary cause stands the great First Cause of all things. Infinite power and wisdom are guiding the world, as a skillful rider guides his steed, along the path of progress to a glorious goal.

For I doubt not through the ages an increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.

And “down the ringing grooves of change” the world is speeding to the golden age to be. We are indeed under the reign of law, not of a law of decay and death, but of growth and life. We are the subjects of a benign Government, the final causes of all whose decrees are the advancement and ennobling of the race. Americans, especially, should devoutly acknowledge Divine Providence in the history of their country; and now, if ever, should that acknowledgment be made.

When was ever God's right hand,
Over any time or land,
Stretched as now beneath the sun?

He whose untimely martyrdom the world deplores was not ashamed in his official documents to declare his recognition of

that Providence and his confidence in its awards. On the latest issue from the United States Mint is the formal confession of her Christian creed, in the pious legend, "We trust in God." No nobler motto could be blazoned on her crest. In so far as her policy is noble, Christian, and devout, God will set his love upon her to keep her, and no weapon formed against her shall prosper.

Plymouth Rock in the brilliant rhetoric of De Tocqueville is called the corner-stone of the American nation. The principles of which that rock is the symbol are certainly the foundations, broad, and deep, and firm, of her national greatness. They are the pledge of the stability of her institutions. In that nation are no signs of degeneracy or decay, of atrophy or lassitude. Not in her decrepitude, but in her early vigor does she seem. To her we may apply the sublime language of Milton's *Areopagitica*: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit; acute to invent, subtle to discourse, and not beneath the reach of any point that human capacity can soar to. Methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance."

During the war many unfriendly eyes regarded the American Union as an agonized Laocoön in the writhing folds of a deadly serpent—a serpent she had cherished in her own bosom only to receive its envenomed sting at last. Rather the brawny Hercules has she proved, strangling the serpent-brood, and going forth to win new triumphs and achieve new labors for the welfare of mankind.

A future, glowing with brightest auguries of hope and promise, beckons onward. Before us lies a good land and a large; a land of oil, and corn, and wine; a land flowing with milk and honey; a land of boundless wealth and fairest loveliness; a land hallowed forever by the rich libation of the heart's blood of its martyred sons.

Their graves, green and holy, around us are lying;
Free were the sleepers all, living or dying.

Reverently let us mention their names; lightly let us tread upon their ashes. It is ours to go up and possess this land, to develop its resources, to mold its institutions, to give tone and character to its future history, and to affect for loftiest weal its destiny. The voices of our country, of the future, of our children and our children's children, and the voice of God, call on us to discharge that duty wisely and well.

Let us adopt, in conclusion, the fine simile of Longfellow, and, regarding the Union as a fair and goodly ship, bearing her precious freightage of humanity across the deeps of time, exclaim:

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!
Humanity, with all its fears,
With all its hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!
We know what Master laid thy keel;
What workmen wrought thy ribs of steel;
Who made each mast, and sail, and rope;
What anvils rang; what hammers beat;
In what a forge and what a heat
Were shaped the anchors of thy hope!
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee:
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee—are all with thee.

ART. IV.—THE BAPTISM OF NAAMAN.

It may be premised that in any inquiry as to the meaning of the baptismal terms, as, for example, βαπτίζω, a distinct and precise answer cannot be given until it is known from what point of view the inquiry is made. If the question contemplates mode only, then perhaps a sufficient and true answer is given when it is said that there is nothing in Scripture referring to this subject which warrants or demands for its explanation, or to fulfill its requirements, any other definition than that which is expressed by such words as "to sprinkle," "to pour," "to shed," "to descend;" while some cases absolutely require this meaning, and will be satisfied with no other.

If the inquiry contemplates the effect either really or ceremonially accomplished as to the subject, or concerns the purpose, object, or intent of the *ordinance* in relation to the individual subject's personal moral state, we answer that it is properly defined by such words as "to purify or cleanse," with the connected, associated idea of consecration or devotedness to an object, purpose, or person; namely, to the object and purpose of a Christ-like life, and to the Persons of the Triune Godhead. If it is asked with reference to its effect upon the individual subject's own relation to the Church of Christ, then there is in it the idea of initiation; namely, either really or ceremonially to initiate into its covenant blessings, and "garner" into its fold. But if a general definition of baptism from every point of view is demanded, a thorough investigation will, it is thought, lead to the conclusion that baptism is that ordinance or sacrament of the Church of Christ, instituted or established by his authority, performed by the sprinkling, pouring, or shedding down of the baptismal element upon the subject, with the intent, object, or purpose and effect, of that subject's real or ceremonial purification or cleansing, and consecration to the Holy Trinity, whereby the recipient is initiated, really or symbolically, into the possession of the rights and privileges, the covenant blessings, of the aforesaid Church of Christ.

The baptismal act predicated by the Septuagint of the Syrian noble cannot, of course, come under the category of baptisms as thus defined, and yet may be found to have a close relationship with them—an important bearing and influence in determining matters needful to be settled for the better understanding of our Christian vocabulary.

Naaman was a leper. At the suggestion of an Israelitish servant, he journeyed with a princely retinue to Samaria, and stood at the door of the house of Elisha, from whom he received directions to "go and wash (Heb., *קָחֵךְ*; Greek, *λουσαι*) in Jordan seven times, and thy flesh shall come again to thee, and thou shalt be clean," (Greek, *καθαρισθησε.*) 2 Kings v, 10. In three several places (verses 10, 12, and 13) the Greek words *λουω* and *καθαριζω* are used in this narrative as indicating respectively the command and promise of the prophet. In the fourteenth verse it is said that Naaman

"went down and *dipped* (Heb. *סָבַל*; Greek, *εβαπτισατο*) himself seven times in Jordan, . . . and he was clean."

Upon this it may be observed:

1. That this is the only passage in the Septuagint version in which the Hebrew *סָבַל* is translated by the Greek *βαπτίζω*.

2. That *סָבַל* is usually (not always, as we shall see) translated by the Greek *βαπτω*.

3. That, like the Greek *βαπτω*, it does not exclusively, invariably, and necessarily mean immersion, or dipping under, so that the person or thing concerning which it is spoken is completely covered by that into which it is dipped. To prove this, and thus establish an important fact, we may cite all the instances where it occurs. Thus, Gen. xxxvii, 31: "And they took Joseph's coat, and killed a kid of the goats, and dipped (Heb., *סָבַל*; Greek, *εμολυναν*) the coat in the blood," (Heb., *בַּדָּם*; Greek, *τῷ αἵματι*.) Here it is evident that *סָבַל* ought not to be translated "dip" in the sense of a complete immersion under; for this would have defeated the purpose of the brothers, which was to imitate a coat spotted or stained with the blood of a person torn and killed by wild beasts. The quantity of blood—that of a kid—is also against the notion of a complete immersion. Nor does the Hebrew *בַּדָּם* necessarily require the translation, "in the blood;" for the preposition *בְּ* has many significations, such as *in, by, at, among, as, unto, upon, with*, etc. It is used of the *instrument* or *material* with which any thing is done, as in Gen. vi, 14: "Thou shalt pitch it *with* pitch," (*בְּקֶפֶר*.) Exod. v, 3: "With the sword (Heb., *בְּחֶרֶב*) and with pestilence, (Heb., *בְּדֶבֶר*.)" (See also Exod. vii, 17; xvi, 5; Isa. xi, 4; Jer. xiv, 15.) So we may undoubtedly render *בַּדָּם*, "with the blood." This is clearly what the Septuagint *τῷ αἵματι* means, since it is the dative of instrument, and is, without a preposition, to be translated, "*with* blood." But as absolute and positive proof that *סָבַל* in this passage did not, in the opinion of the Greek translators, mean "to dip," in any sense, we have this certain fact, that they translated it *not* by the word *βαπτω*, but by another word, *μολυνω*, which word, so far as we can find, never means "to dip" or "immerse." This word occurs but three times in the New Testament, and is in every case translated *defiled*—once of the conscience, once of garments, once of the saints who were not "defiled with

women." 1 Cor. viii, 7; Rev. iii, 4; xiv, 4. The word is rendered in the lexicons, "To stain, to sully, defile, sprinkle with flour." This passage may then be rendered, "And *sprinkled* he coat *with* blood," or, "*stained* the coat *with* blood."

פָּלַח also occurs in the following places, where it is rendered by βαπτω and "*dip*," (except in Job ix, 31,) namely: (a) Exod. xii, 23; (b) Lev. iv, 6, 17; (c) ix, 9; (d) xiv, 6; (e) xiv, 16, 51; (f) Num. xix, 18; (g) Dent. xxxiii, 24; (h) Josh. iii, 15; (i) Ruth ii, 14; (k) 1 Sam. xiv, 27; (l) 2 Kings v, 14; (m) viii, 15; (n) Job ix, 31. These are all the other places where this word occurs in the Hebrew Bible. In the passages marked (b), (c), (e), it is the "finger" which is "dipped" (moistened) in (with) blood or oil. In those marked (a) and (f) a "bunch of hyssop" is dipped (moistened) in (with) blood and water. In (g), "Asher shall dip (moisten or smear) his foot in (with) oil." In (h), the feet of the priests "that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water." And immediately "the waters which came down from above stood and rose up upon a heap, and those that came down toward the sea failed, and the priests stood firm upon dry ground." In none of these cases is there necessarily, or possibly, a complete immersion. In the case last cited, as soon as the feet of the priests touched or were wet by the water at the brim of the river, the water receded before their advancing footsteps, and their feet rested upon the ground. In (i), Ruth is "to dip (moisten, sop) her morsel (of bread) in the vinegar"—not necessarily, nor even probably, an immersion, since she would scarcely dip the fingers also in which she held the "morsel." In (k), Jonathan "dipped (moistened) the end of the rod in honey"—not a complete immersion. In (m), Hazeel, it is said, "took a thick cloth and dipped (wet, moistened) it (with) in water." Here the essential idea conveyed is that of moistening or saturating the cloth with water so as to thicken it; and the mode of doing this may have been either by dipping into the water or by pouring the water upon it. In (n), Job ix, 31, our English version is: "Yet shalt thou plunge me into the ditch." (Heb., וְנָחַתְנִי בַּבְּרֵחַ; Greek, *Καυὸς ἐνρύποι με ἐβαστας*.) Now the Greek of this passage may be rendered, "Fitly hast thou smeared me with filth." *ῥυπαρός* occurs but once in the New

Testament, and is there (1 Pet. iii, 21) translated filth; and in neither classic nor Hellenistic Greek is there adduced a single instance of its meaning "a ditch." The Hebrew word of which the Septuagint translators thought *ἐνρύποι* to be a correct rendering occurs in Psalm xvi, 10, and Job xvii, 14, and is there translated "corruption." The passage in Psalms is quoted Acts ii, 27, and xiii, 35, and in both cases is translated by the word *διαφθορά*, "corruption." We do not mean to say that *תִּרְחִי* never means a "pit" or "cistern," but simply that here that meaning is inapplicable. It is easily seen how it could come to mean filth, slime, corruption, since it was doubtless no unusual thing for a "cistern" or "pit" to have in it a filthy, slimy sediment, such as that which was in the cistern or pit into which Jeremiah was let down. The intention of the passage is clearly what we have given it, as may be seen by a simple reading of the verse preceding and the whole of this verse, merely changing the translation so as to accord with Luke and Peter and Paul and David: "If I wash myself with snow water, and make my hands never so clean, yet shalt thou smear me with filth, and mine own clothes shall abhor me." It may be submitted that this is a more rational presentation of the author's meaning, and conveys a better sense than does our English version. One passage more, (*d.*) Lev. xiv, 6, demands our attention. Two birds, (the margin says sparrows,) and cedar-wood, and scarlet, and hyssop, were to be taken, and one of the birds was to be killed in an earthen vessel over running water. "As for the living bird, he shall take it, and the cedar-wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, and shall dip them and the living bird in the blood (*דָּמָם*) of the bird that was killed over the running water. And he shall *sprinkle* upon him that is to be cleansed from his leprosy seven times, and shall pronounce him clean." It may now be confidently submitted that the idea of immersing a living bird in the blood of a bird of its own size—a *sparrow in the blood of a sparrow*—the thing contained in that which is contained—is simply absurd and impossible; and in this case the words *קָבַץ*, *βαπτω*, and "dip," cannot and do not mean immersion under. In this case the words *must* mean to moisten, wet, smear, or convey equivalent ideas; and we must therefore translate, in order to secure the essential idea conveyed, thus: "shall moisten or

smear them and the living bird with the blood of the bird that was killed over the running water," etc.

From these passages and this examination, we are authorized to conclude that *טָבַל* does not necessarily imply an immersion, nor even always a dipping, but, like βαπτω, it may mean to moisten, smear, stain, etc.

In this investigation, also, a fact of great significance as to the ritual use of the baptismal words arrests attention, namely: *That in none of the instances where טָבַל occurs, and where it is rendered by βαπτω, does the act described by טָבַל, or βαπτω, constitute the cleansing or purification.* What is meant is this: that, where the term used is טָבַל in the Hebrew and βαπτω in the Septuagint version, in no instance is that which is dipped said to be cleansed or purified; in every instance that which is dipped or smeared, in conjunction with that to which it clings, is simply the means made use of to cleanse or purify another object. Thus, it was the administrator or instrument in the purification which was dipped or smeared or moistened, and not the subject of that purification. For instance: Aaron dipped his finger, not the horns of the altar, into the blood, to purify or cleanse, not the finger which was dipped, but the horns of the altar, or the altar itself, neither of which was dipped. So the priest was to dip his right finger in the oil that was in his left hand, and sprinkle of the oil seven times before the Lord. "And of the rest of the oil that is in his hand shall the priest put upon the tip of the right ear of him that is to be cleansed, and upon the thumb of his right hand, and upon the great toe of his right foot, upon the blood of the trespass-offering. And the remnant of the oil that is in the priest's hand shall he pour upon the head of him that is to be cleansed." Lev. xiv, 16-18. It was not that which was dipped, but that which by dipping was obtained and conveyed to the subject, which was really the cleansing medium; nor was that which was dipped thereby cleansed, but thus the material was obtained to be applied to the cleansing of another. *Apropos* to this, it may be noted that precisely thus is it in the ordinance of baptism by sprinkling: the fingers are dipped and the water clings thereto, not to baptize, consecrate, or cleanse the dipper, or "dipped finger," but to be sprinkled upon another, who is thus ceremonially cleansed and devoted to the Trinity in unity.

Thus, too, it was not the bird that was dipped that was thereby cleansed; for a preceding verse (4) declares that both birds were clean before. The living bird, and the cedar-wood, and the scarlet, and the hyssop, were to be moistened with the blood of the dead bird; or (if the other phraseology is preferred) dipped into the blood of the dead bird, and then he "shall sprinkle upon him that is to be cleansed from the leprosy seven times, and he shall pronounce him clean." Lev. xiv, 4-7. *The cleansing was to be performed by sprinkling; the material to be sprinkled was to be obtained by dipping. The "dipping," then, when it is expressed in Hebrew by כִּבֵּץ, and translated by the Greek βαπτω, never indicates or accomplishes, nor intends to indicate or accomplish, either real or ceremonial cleansing or purification.* This, be it noted especially, was the rule as to the case of leprosy.

Carefully, then, keeping these facts and results before us, we return to Naaman. In accordance with Elisha's direction he went and (כִּבֵּץ, βαπτισατω) dipped (baptized) himself seven times in Jordan." His was a case of leprosy. According to Israelitish ritual, the leper was to be sprinkled seven times in order to his cleansing. An Israelitish prophet directs him to do something the same number of times and be cleansed, which something is indicated in Hebrew by the verb כָּחַץ, in Greek by λουσαι, and in English by wash—when commanded—but when performed is indicated by כִּבֵּץ, and βαπτιζω, and in English by "dip." At once we are struck with the anomalous and unprecedented fact that, for the first and only time in the Scriptures, the Septuagint translators in rendering כִּבֵּץ use the word βαπτιζω, while in every other instance save one they use βαπτω, the other exceptional case being that of Joseph, where, as before stated, μολονω, "to sprinkle," is used. In every other place they translate by βαπτω. Why now change in these two places only? Three chapters farther on the word again recurs, (viii, 15,) and, true to their former custom, they translate by βαπτω. Why now this change—these only exceptions? To account for them there must be some peculiarity in the cases themselves. Can such peculiarity—idiosyncrasy—be found?

We have seen that in none of the other instances where כִּבֵּץ occurs in connection with ceremonial cleansing or purification, and where it is rendered by βαπτω—in no one of these

instances is it the purification of that object, whether it be a finger, or hyssop, or bird, of which the idea expressed in *בָּבַל* is predicated, that is accomplished by the action described therein, but the attention is directed to the purification of some other object or person, which or who is not dipped, or to whom this word is not applied. The purposed and intended results of the action are not affected with respect to that which is said to be "dipped," but upon something else. The same is true as to *βαπτω*. But in these exceptional occurrences the case is precisely the reverse. The purposed and intended result is effected upon that concerning which *בָּבַל* is used. As to the case before us, the person of whom the action and purport of *בָּבַל* is predicated is the person upon whom the result, cleansing and healing, is to be effected. This, then, constitutes a marked difference, which did not escape the Greek translators, but at once was indicated by a different rendering: in the one case by *μολυνω*, in the other by *βαπτίζω*, instead of the customary *βαπτω*.

Now the result, namely, cleansing or purification, and hence the cure which was effected, and which result, in this single instance alone, is indicated by the Hebrew *בָּבַל*, was always effected by the application of the cleansing element to the subject, and the mode described by such expressions as "to sprinkle," "to pour upon," "to wash." In the "leprosy," as stated, purification was effected by sprinkling that into which the "dip" was made seven times upon the leper—the precise number of times that Naaman was commanded "to wash," and which command, it is said, he fulfilled by "baptizing" himself seven times. Remembering that the command emanated from an Israelitish prophet—himself thoroughly conversant with the Mosaic ritual and austere obedient thereto—we have more than a rational presumption that this purification was effected after the manner of the ritual, though for special reasons the material might be different.

But we may go back a little to the circumstances which led to this act of Naaman, and therein find confirmation that this word is not here used in its ordinary signification. The act performed by Naaman was in fulfillment of a positive command, so definite and unbending in its terms that although one river may be supposed to be as good as another, and the

mountain rivulets Abana and Pharpar were doubtless purer streams than the muddy and sluggish Jordan, yet no other water would do, and no other river would answer in accomplishing the object. Much less, then, would a variation in manner be allowable. Now the command (v. 10, 12, 13) of which בָּבַב (v. 14) expresses the fulfillment is expressed by Heb., רָחַץ, Greek, λουω, English, "wash." Now, whatever may be the manner and idea expressed by בָּבַב, it is indubitable that it is here the equivalent of רָחַץ, and that in the estimation of the Seventy λουω is the equivalent of the latter, and therefore also of the former, word; and since they translate the former by βαπτίζω, this also, for the purposes of this command, must be the equivalent of λουω—for this purpose indeed, the Seventy being judges, these four respective words are equivalents.

Now a careful examination of all the occurrences of רָחַץ in the Scriptures will justify the following statements, namely, that when the action which it designates is performed with reference to the hands, feet, or face, it is translated by the Greek νιπτω; when the action respects clothes, πλυνω is used; when the body, or any other part of the person, save the hands and feet and entire face is designated, the Greek rendering is λουω. Thus we have, (Sol. Song, v, 12,) "His eyes are . . . washed with milk, (רָחַץ and λουω.) So λουω is thus used in the New Testament, as Acts xvi, 33: "He washed their stripes." Of course, only a *part* of the body. Once רָחַץ is translated by χέω, "to flow or pour," namely, Job xxix, 6: "When I *washed* my steps with butter, and the rock poured me out rivers of oil." In this case the washing must of necessity have been a pouring or smearing of the steps with butter, that is, an application of the butter to "his steps." Accordingly, in the Septuagint it reads: "When my paths were flowed (ἐχέοντο) with butter, and my mountains poured forth milk." It is needless, perhaps, to point out the propriety of this translation by the Seventy of רָחַץ by a word meaning "to pour." For the custom is well known to have been almost universal in the East of performing both *washing* and *bathing* by pouring.*

* רָחַץ occurs seventy-two times in the Bible; thirty-eight times it is translated by λουω; twenty times by νιπτω; eight times by πλυνω; one time each by απονιπτω, εκπλυνω, χέω, απολουω; and twice (Exod. xl, 30, 31) the verses are wanting in the Septuagint.

Another fact: In verse 11 Naaman says that he expected that the prophet would "strike his hand over the place and recover the leper," (Septuagint, ἐπιθήσει τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, put his hand upon the place or spot.) He, the Seventy being judges, expected him to come and invoke his God and touch the spot, that is, make a topical application, and thus heal him. The prophet, however, ordered him to go and "wash seven times in Jordan, and thy flesh (query, skin?) shall come unto thee, and thou shalt be clean." Now what was "to come unto" him? The whole of his flesh, or a part of it? We submit, the part, place, spot, greater or less, as the case might be, affected or made foul by this loathsome disease. And what was he to wash? What was the action expressed by ὀτρύνω and λουώ? We submit now if he was not to wash the place, (τὸν τόπον,) the spot or part of the body affected by the disease, an action accurately expressed by λουώ as to be performed simply on a part of the body other than the hands and feet and face. Accordingly he goes and dips into Jordan, and thereby obtains water, which he dashes, sprinkles, or pours upon the spot seven times, with the intent and purpose of being thereby cleansed. Now, since for this time כִּבֵּץ includes the whole of this complex idea, it is rendered for the first and only time in the Old Testament by βαπτίζω, since the action and effect was a *literal baptism*. *It was the application of water by affusion to the person, with the intent and purpose of cleansing or purifying that person*—which purification in the case of the sprinkled leper necessitated a cure—and the result was effected upon the person to whom the application was made.

So, also, in the case of Joseph's coat. A purposed or intended result was effected thereupon, which purposed result is included in the word כִּבֵּץ; and hence, in accordance with the general principle enunciated in the exceptional case of Naaman, βαπτω is not used as its rendering. And as in this case purification was not the object or intended result, but spotting, or staining, a word indicating the same mode, but a different result and purpose, is used, and for this only time כִּבֵּץ is rendered by μολυνω, "to sprinkle." Thus, then, these two exceptional cases mutually illuminate each other, and agree in demonstrating that כִּבֵּץ, βαπτω, βαπτίζω, one and all, are properly rendered by expressions other than those which indicate im-

mersion. Thus also the baptism of this Syrian noble is taken out of the armory of the exclusive immersionist, and caused to do battle for that mode of baptism made visible in the day when the Holy Ghost *descended*, and the baptism of fire *fell upon* the disciples, when Jesus endowed them with power, in fulfillment of "the promise of the Father." From which FATHER, and HIS SON JESUS, and the HOLY GHOST, may there come a like copious baptism, for the unification of that Church visible which has been redeemed by the shed blood of the God-man, that, with unbroken ranks, it may go forth to the battle with the alien host—to the slaughter-fields of its last Armageddon—bearing aloft on its banner emblazoned, "ONE FAITH, ONE LORD, ONE BAPTISM."

ART. V.— THE UNITY OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD.

II. FACTS OF SUCCESSION.

IN a late number of this Journal, in an article on "The Unity of the Physical World," we grouped together the leading *Facts of Co-existence*, as revealed in the blended light of the modern sciences, for the purpose of illustrating the uniformities and mutual relationships which pervade the entire system of the visible universe. We remarked that there is another group of phenomena sustaining to each other the relations of antecedence and sequence, which bring to light the existence of a *historical* unity stretching back from the co-existent phenomena of to-day, across intervals of time which are utterly measureless and incomprehensible. While the revelations of such a web of co-existent relationships demonstrate the unity of the entire system of matter in reference to space, those which we now propose to bring to view are calculated to convince every intelligence of the unity of that system in reference to time.

I. *Primordial History of the Solar System.*

The common physical conditions under which subsist the various bodies which constitute the solar system could not but

remind us, as we passed, of the probability that they have all had a common origin, and, to a great extent, a common history. This probability was recognized by physicists and philosophers long before our knowledge of these uniformities had become as complete and suggestive as it now is. The idea occurred to Leibnitz,* Kant,† and Lambert;‡ and Bode§ reproduced some of the conjectures of Kant. The subject was also pondered by Sir William Herschel|| in the light of his stellar and nebular discoveries, and he propounded the theory of the gradual condensation of nebulae into stars. This was at once taken up, if not independently originated, by Laplace, who was then fresh from his profound studies of the harmonies of the solar system, and was by him developed into the famous "Nebular Hypothesis."¶

The leading object of the hypothesis was to trace the action of known material forces, from an assumed beginning or state of existence, through the various stages of the formation of the solar system. The theory assumes the primordial condition of matter to be that of an incandescent vapor. This condition granted, and granted also the action of such physical forces as science has revealed, and all the astronomical phenomena of the solar system—at least, of the planetary bodies—are at once explicable on so-called natural grounds. Later developments of geological science have shown a large body of terrestrial phenomena which are most readily explained, as we shall see, by reference to such an antecedent state of things as the nebular hypothesis necessitates.

The publication of this sublime hypothesis precipitated a profound agitation in the thinking world. Among physicists it found, at first, a somewhat cordial welcome, but when more

* Leibnitz: *Protogæa, sive de prima facie Telluris*, etc., 1683. Buffon: *La Théorie de la Terre*, and *Epoques de la Nature*.

† Kant: *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte und Theorie des Himmels*, 1751. Helmholtz: "Interaction of Natural Forces," (Youmans' edition,) p. 230.

‡ Lambert: "Cosmological Letters."

§ Bode: *Kentniss des Himmels*.

Leucippus of Miletus held that the earth was disengaged from a chaos of matter which spontaneously assumed a vortical movement in a vast vacuum.—*Diog. Laër.*, *Lives*, (Bohn's edition,) p. 389.

|| Sir William Herschel: "Philosophical Transactions," 1811.

¶ Laplace: *Exposition du Système du Monde*, ad fin.

powerful telescopes effected the resolution of nebula after nebula, it began to be believed that all nebulae would eventually prove resolvable, and that thus the evidence would disappear that such matter exists in the universe as the nebular hypothesis begins by postulating. The hypothesis, therefore, for a third of a century, rested in a state of disrepute. There were always some, however, who could not divest themselves of the conviction that it represented real history. For our own part, we have not wavered in our confidence for nearly thirty years; and, since 1847, have publicly taught the principles of the hypothesis. Recently, the revelations of the spectroscope, establishing the vaporous condition of many of the nebulae, have given a firm support to the theory; and these evidences, coupled with others, have secured the adhesion of probably a large majority of living astronomers, physicists, and geologists.

In the theological world the hypothesis has earned but a cautious reception. It seemed to many exactly adapted to forward the end for which it was assumed it had been framed. "Sire," said Laplace, when Napoleon expressed his surprise that the astronomers could refrain from mentioning the name of God, "Sire, we have no need of that hypothesis." And so the Nebular Hypothesis was understood to be a substitute for the theistic one. The patronage bestowed upon the hypothesis by the author of the "*Vestiges of Creation*," has also disparaged it in the estimation of the theologian, since it seemed the aim of that writer, as has been alleged, to dispense with a providence, if not with a Deity. Mr. Spencer's more recent adoption of the hypothesis as part of a scheme of universal evolution involving spiritual effects as well as material, has exerted a like influence.

It will be, however, most religious, as well as most reasonable, to estimate the hypothesis on its scientific merits, regardless of any irreverent uses which may have been made of it. If it represents a *real history*, it reveals God's activity and God's thought, and no man can be actuated by a higher ambition than to make himself familiar with the thought of God.*

* Many learned adversaries have recorded their opinions in opposition to this hypothesis. Whewell says, We must leave it to the future to furnish the facts on

Let us now glance at the scientific grounds of this famous hypothesis. We have already seen (in our former article) what reasons exist for believing that matter in a state of vaporous incandescence is a wide-spread phenomenon in the universe. The telescope, by its failure to resolve a large proportion of the nebulae, opened the way for the opinion that their substance is really continuous, and this was the view entertained by the elder Herschel. It was his opinion, also, entertained from Wilson, that the envelope of the sun is of a cloudy character. In our own times, the spectroscope may be said to

which its claims can be rested.—*Indications of a Creator*, pp. 27, 52, and *Plurality of Worlds*. Undoubtedly, if now living, he would recognize the irresistible cogency of the "facts." Buchanan, ("Modern Atheism," chap. ii); Brewster, ("More Worlds than One," and "North British Review," No. 3, p. 476,) and the author of the article on the Nebular Hypothesis, in "Appleton's Cyclopædia," have used arguments in opposition. See also Sedgwick, "Discourse;" Miller, "Footprints of the Creator." It will be remarked, however, that none of the weightier opponents (unless Proctor be one) belong to the present, and that their objections rest on premises rendered untenable by recent progress in science.

Those who accept the hypothesis are legion; among them may be named Helmholtz, ("Interaction of Natural Forces;") Dana, ("Manual of Geology," p. 741 and elsewhere;) Dawson, ("Archæia," and "Story of the Earth and Man;") T. S. Hunt, ("Lowell Institute Lectures," "Canadian Naturalist," new series, vol. v, p. 446, *et passim*;) Thomson and Tait, ("Treatise on Natural Philosophy," App. D, also "Trans. Royal Soc.," Edinburgh, 1862, etc.;) Arago, (*Astronomie populaire*; Meunier (*Le Ciel géologique*, p. 147, *et seq.*;) Delaunay (*Cours élémentaire d'Astronomie*, pp. 638-646;) Flourens, ("Human Longevity;") J. S. Mill, ("System of Logic;") Sæmann, (*Bull. de la Soc. géol. de France*, Feb., 1861;) Spencer, ("First Principles," pp. 149, 179, 181, etc.;) Comte, (*Philos. pos.*, ii, 363, 376;) Schellen, (*Die Spectralanalyse*, pp. 511, 512;) Secchi, (*Le Soleil*.) Father Secchi says: "Les savants sont de nos jours unanimes à admettre que notre système solaire est dû à la condensation d'une nébuleuse qui s'étendait autrefois au delà des limites occupées actuellement par les planètes les plus lointaines, (p. 332.) La théorie. . . a été bien confirmé et, pour ainsi dire démontré par la découverte des nébuleuses gazeuses," (p. 401.) Delaunay says: "Laplace a été plus heureux. En adoptant l'idée d'Herschel sur la condensation progressive des nébuleuses, et sur transformation en étoiles, et appliquant ces idées à notre système planétaire, il est parvenu à en expliquer la formation de la matière la plus satisfaisante. Aucune des particularités que l'observation a manifesté relativement aux planètes et à leur satellites n'échappe à l'ingénieuse explication qu'il a développée," (*Op. cit.*, p. 639.) Schellen says: "Das herrliche Gebäude welches schon von Kant in 1755 . . . in seinem Grundlinien aufgezeichnet, und von Laplace 41 Jahre später aufgebaut wurde, hat gegenwärtig durch die Spectralanalyse seinen Schlussstein erhalten," (*Op. cit.*, pp. 511, 512.) On the subject of cosmogony see also Ennis, "The Origin of the Stars, and the Causes of their Motion and Light," and "Proc. Am. Assoc., Troy Meeting," pp. 27-47. Proctor has propounded what may be styled a meteoric theory of planetary origin. See "Other Worlds than Ours," pp. 220-229.

have demonstrated the correctness of these views. All those celestial bodies which furnish spectra with bright lines are incandescent vapors. These include the nebulous stars, the planetary nebulae, (small circular nebulae with large bright nuclei,) the ring nebulae, the irregular nebulae, and some of the spiral nebulae.* Bright-line spectra indicative of a gaseity are also given by the comets, (as far as examined,†) the zodiacal light, and the *aurora borealis*.

Moreover, every dark-line spectrum demonstrates also the existence of vapors or gases surrounding a luminous body of a solid or liquid character. Thus igneous vapor exists about the sun and nearly all of the fixed stars.

Lastly, matter in a state of liquid incandescence presents a condition not very far removed from gaseity; and this condition is demonstrated (since solid incandescence in the midst of glowing vapors seems eminently improbable) in all cases of dark-line spectra. Thus, we must have a molten nucleus for the sun and for most of the fixed stars. Besides this, many celestial objects furnish continuous spectra indicative of incandescence in the liquid or solid state. This is the case with many of the resolved and probably resolvable nebulae, and also a few apparently irresolvable. The continuous spectrum, as before remarked,‡ *may* be caused by the equal emissive and absorptive properties of vapors enveloping an incandescent nucleus, and hence the continuous spectrum is not conclusive as to the solid or liquid condition of those celestial objects which produce it. When, however, it becomes a rule with an entire class of objects to produce a continuous spectrum, it seems probable that such objects exhibit the liquid condition. We seem to have satisfactory evidence, therefore, of the presence in space of three modes (probably solid incan-

* It does not seem necessary to presume, as suggested by Herschel, and taught by Nichol and many others, that all irresolvable masses of nebulous matter lie far beyond the limits of the fixed stars. Some of these masses may be, as Herschel supposed, remote external firmaments, or firmament-stuff; but it seems likely that some irresolvable masses lie within the distances of the remotest stars. This is even indicated by certain astronomical observations on their changes.

† Huggins: "Philosophical Transactions," 1868; Young: "American Journal Science," [3.] iii, p. 81.

‡ The statements and conclusions of our former article are presumed to be in possession of the reader.

descence is a fourth) of material existence, all incandescent, namely :

Incandescent Matter.	{ Gaseous.		{ Irresolvable nebulae, Comets, etc.
	{ Liquid.	{ Enveloped in vapor.	{ Suns.
		{ Not enveloped.	{ Certain star-groups and clusters.

The first postulate of the nebular hypothesis is therefore sustained by the latest developments of astronomy.

In the next place it may be regarded as demonstrated by the revelations of the spectroscope that the sun, planets, stars of all orders, and nebulae of all conditions, abound in the same material substances as our earth. The hypothesis demands this. The evidences need not be repeated here, as we have briefly cited them in our former article, (pp. 201-205,) and they may also be studied in numerous accessible works.

In the third place, there is a chain of *geological* evidences tending to prove that our earth has come down from such a state of primitive incandescence as the nebular hypothesis confers upon it. Here, first of all, are the phenomena of volcanoes throwing out smoke, ashes, flames, cinders, and molten lava from some deep reservoir of heat. Next, are the indications of thermal springs, equally evincing some deep-seated source of warmth. Then the regular elevation of temperature experienced in boring artesian wells and sinking deep mines becomes a warning that the fires of which the volcano and the boiling spring furnish us the tidings are realities widespread underneath the solid surface of our globe. And, lest these warnings pass unheeded, the earthquake shakes, from time to time, the rocky foundations of the land, convincing us that after all the mountains are not those types of endurance and solidity which we had supposed.

We now lift up our eyes and discover that innumerable mountain cones and humble hillocks present all the characteristics of active volcanoes, except the presence of issuing flames and lavas.* They are, in fact, extinct volcanoes. The time was when they added their emphatic testimony to the proofs

* As, for instance, the district of the Auvergne, in France, and extensive regions of our own country, in New Mexico, Nevada, California, and Oregon.

of deep internal fires. But they are still witnesses. They have left their depositions on record in the shape, not only of volcanic craters, but of lavas, scorïæ, and ashes. Thousands of square miles of our fair earth are covered with such evidences of the former reign of fire.

But here are other rocks which look only like another order of lavas—dolerites, basalts, porphyries. These, when we inspect them, declare themselves but more ancient lavas, which have come up, also, from the deep reservoir of fire, in an age when the whole world seems to have been shaken by volcanic throes and rent by earthquake fissures. The ancient surface, now mostly concealed, reminds us forcibly of the map of the moon. Other rocks, underlying thousands of square miles, though not appearing like ancient lavas, present, nevertheless, the evidences of the action of heat. Baked, vitrified, reddened, they proclaim as intelligibly as the overburned brick the story of the ordeal of fire.

This, then, is the tenor of these geologic testimonies. A great heat has been here upon the surface—a fusing, glowing heat. That heat has disappeared mostly from the surface, but remains perpetuated at some unknown depth beneath. There are some data, nevertheless, for the calculation of the depth. Knowing the rate of increase of heat in artesian wells and deep excavations, we can easily figure out the depth at which the temperature would be sufficient to boil water or melt iron or granite. It results from these data that the solid crust cannot be over two hundred miles in thickness. Until recently the majority of geologists maintained that beneath this depth the entire interior of the globe still subsists in a molten state. Some considerations have been brought forward, however, within a few years, which tend strongly to establish the conclusion that a large part of the interior of the earth has already assumed a solidified condition. That solidification took place at the surface, and possibly began at the surface, is generally admitted; for though substances, as a rule, are denser when solid than when liquid, the molecular condition assumed in the act of solidification seems to render them, within a certain range of temperature, less dense than the liquid. Thus solid water (ice) floats upon liquid water; solid iron (notwithstanding subsequent shrinkage of one per cent.) floats upon

molten iron;* solid type-metal upon liquid type-metal; cold lava upon molten lava.† At the same time the enormous pressure experienced at the center of the earth has led a number of geologists to suggest the probability that solidification also began there, in spite of the great elevation of temperature which must have existed throughout the earth's interior during the earlier ages of the liquified condition. Prof. William Hopkins and Poulett Scrope contend that solidification began at the center, and, at a later period, at the periphery. Prof. Shaler maintains a similar opinion. Dr. T. S. Hunt holds (like Keferstein, Hopkins, and Scrope) that only a thin belt of molten material exists, lying between the solidified exterior and the solidified core, but argues (with Sir John Herschel) that this layer is but the under portion of the sedimentary beds encroached upon by the internal heat of the globe, aided by chemistry. Prof. Hall denies that we have any positive evidence of a former molten condition of any considerable portion of the earth, but denies it (absurdly) on the lack of the visible exposure of any large part of the primitive crust. Sir William Thomson argues that the phenomena of precession and nutation *demand* greater rigidity of the earth than would be possible with a comparatively thin crust. This opinion is opposed by Delaunay, but again recently defended by Thomson.‡

* Certified personally by several observers. Also, "Coll. Cour.," 1872, p. 173.

† Kämtz: "Meteorology," English edition, p. 152. This seems almost like the *experimentum crucis*.

‡ The reader interested in the discussions respecting the condition of the earth's interior may make the following references:

Keferstein: *Naturgeschichte des Erdkörpers*, (1834,) vol. I, p. 109; *Bulletin Soc. géologique de France*, [1.] viii, p. 197.

W. Hopkins: "Phil. Trans.," 1836, p. 382; 1839-40-42; "Quarterly Report British Association for 1847," p. 33; "Jour. Geol. Soc. London," viii, 56.

Babbage (Charles:) "Ninth Bridgewater Treatise," note G, pp. 209-220.

Sir John Herschel: "Proc. Geol. Soc., London," (1836,) II, 548; Babbage's "Ninth Bridgewater Treatise," note I, pp. 225-247.

Hunt (T. S.): "Canadian Journal," May, 1858; "Quarterly Journal Geol. Society, London," November, 1859, xv, 594; "American Journal Science," July, 1860, xxx, 133; *Ib.*, May, 1861, xxxi, 406-414; *Ib.*, March, 1864, xxxvii, 25; *Ib.*, September, 1864, xxxviii, 182; "Geology of Canada," 1863, pp. 643, 669; "Report Geol., Canada," 1866, p. 230; "On the Probable Seat of Volcanic Action," May, 1869, ("American Journal Science," [3.] II, 121; "Geol. Mag.," February,) 1868; "Canadian Naturalist," December, 1869.

It is clear that igneous activity has been diminishing upon the earth. The globe has been growing cooler than formerly. Why is it not probable that the cooling is still in progress? Opportunely, the physicists of France and England have demonstrated that such is the case. They have measured instrumentally the amount of heat which comes to the earth from all sources, and also the rate of escape from the earth. They find less received than lost. We know, consequently, not only that the world has been cooling for some ages past, but that the process is still continued.

The earth itself, then, is in the midst of a long process of cooling. May we conjecture the commencement of that process? It is fair to argue that it did not begin just at that juncture when the heat was such as to produce those ancient igneous phenomena which we see in extinct volcanic vents and ancient lavas. Their record carries us back to the time when there was barely sufficient solid material at the surface to retain the impression of events then transpiring. The records of older times and higher temperatures have not been stereotyped—could not be stereotyped; but have we no authority to assert that there were older times and higher temperatures? Yes, the line of events which we have traced backward gives us the proper clew; it determines a fixed direction, and, though it lose itself in the distant fog of geologic antiquity, we may

Hall (J.): "Palæontology of New York," Vol. III, Intro.; Hunt's review in "American Journal Science," [2,] May, 1861; "American Institute Lecture," New York, 1869.

Thomson (Sir William): "Proc. Roy. Soc.," May 16, 1862; *Ib.*, November 27, 1862; Thomson and Tait's "Natural Philos.," §§ 832, 833, 834, 847, 848; "Nature," January 18, 1872; also, "On Secular Cooling of the Earth," Trans. Roy. Soc., Edinburgh, xxiii, Section 1.

Shaler (N.): "Proceedings Boston Society Natural History," x, 237; xi, 8; "Geolog. Mag.," November, 1868, v, 511; "Atlantic Monthly."

Scrope: "Geolog. Mag.," December, 1868; "Volcanoes," Second Edition.

Delaunay: *Comtes Rendus*, July 13, 1868; *Cours élémentaire d'Astronomie*, pp. 643, 644.

Whitney (J. D.): "North American Review," April, 1869.

Meunier (S.): *Le Ciel géologique*, 1871, p. 223.

Le Conte (Joseph): "American Journal Science," [3,] iv, 345, 460.

Dana (J. D.): "American Journal Science," [3,] v, 423; vi, 6, 104, 161; also *Ib.*, [2,] ii, 385; iii, 94, 176, 380; iv, 88; xxii, 305, 335.

All this discussion, it will be borne in mind, is not whether the earth has been molten or even gaseous, but whether its interior is still wholly molten.

feel sure that it continues onward through the fog. We can travel no longer by sight, like the mariner, from headland to headland, but we can go by "dead reckoning," like the mariner himself in the fog, or the engineer in the deep tunnel. Our mathematics is deduction. As we figure our pathway up to the remotest antiquity of the world, we see it in a condition completely molten. As we find here no necessary beginning of the course of cooling, we follow backward to that incandescent vapor which is the ultimate form assumed by all matter when heated to the highest temperature with which we are acquainted.* If heat can vaporize a world, we have good ground for assuming that the world was once a vapor.

Here geology joins hands with astronomy. Here, in an incandescent vapor, we find the starting-point equally of nebulae, stars, and earth.

That which has been the history of our earth has been the history of other worlds. We have shown enough of the uniformities of the solar system to entitle us to assume that if the matter of earth was primordially an igneous vapor, so was that of Mars and Jupiter and the other bodies of our system. The sun is still largely an incandescent vapor, and it is easy to admit that it was once completely so. The masses of these heavenly bodies expanded to vapor would fill such a volume of space that the planets would be blended with the sun in one common mass. An immense globe of incandescent gas, filling more than the orbit of Neptune—such is the picture which we are to form of the material of the solar system in the remotest condition of which science affords us any intimations.

This incandescent gas was not a flame in the strict sense; there was no combustion; it was merely the elements of things—*discordia semina rerum*—at a temperature elevated inconceivably high. A mass of matter thus heated and suspended in space must immediately begin a rapid radiation of caloric. With the loss of caloric the vapor began to diminish in volume. The mutual repulsions of the particles being weakened, the particles gradually settled toward the center of gravity of the mass.

It has been demonstrated that a shrinking sphere of fire-

* Iron has recently been vaporized by Dr. Elsner of Berlin.

mist* thus situated must almost inevitably inaugurate a rotation upon its axis. Two simple considerations tending that way can be readily appreciated. *First.* In the simultaneous movement of so many particles and portions of the substance toward the center of gravity, it must happen that some particles or portions would become jostled into a direction more or less to one side of the center of gravity. The resultant momenta of such movements would pass to one side of the center of gravity, and would become a *tangential force*, which, like the hand laid upon a wheel, would tend to produce rotation. *Second.* Disturbing attractions must have been felt from various quarters of the heavens. Other systems were then building or built, and their silent influences, reaching to our cooling sphere of fiery vapor, changed, from time to time, its form, and, accordingly, the place of its center of gravity. The point of convergence of the descending particles would, indeed, follow the center of gravity, but it would follow a little behind. The converging particles would give a resultant which would inevitably act as a tangential force, and a slow rotation would be generated.

* The distinctions among the forms and phases of matter existing at a temperature above the state of liquefaction have not, so far as we know, been studied in their bearing upon the present account, (Compare, however, Secchi: *Le Soleil*, pp. 243, 244, etc.) Water, we know, besides its solid and liquid states, exists as follows: 1. *Vapor* [water] united with the atmosphere, [or other gas,] invisible, absorbed by the air and constituting its *humidity*; 2. *Vesicular vapor*, cloud or fog, which is really but minute drops of liquid water (once supposed hollow) floating in the air or other gas; 3. *Watery gas*—invisible steam, heated above 212° Fah. Are these three conditions possible to substances in general? We are inclined to think they are; and these distinctions ought to be recognized in treating cosmological questions. We can certainly conceive of any matter so heated as to assume the condition corresponding to *watery gas*. This might be transparent, like watery gas or oxygen, or colored, like chlorine. We can conceive of a mixture of such gases at such a temperature as to maintain even the most liquefiable substances in the *aëriform* condition. Then we may conceive the temperature to be so reduced that the most liquefiable substance condenses in fine particles which may float, like fog, in an atmosphere composed of the other substances. In this condition it would probably become more visible; it would glow with a white light. This would be a real "fire-mist," and ought, by itself, to give a continuous spectrum; but if the fire-mist were relatively very tenuous, the gases proper in which it should be suspended might establish a bright-line spectrum; and, on the contrary, the excess of luminosity of the liquid mist might be such as to give, through the absorbent influence of an immersing gas, a spectrum of dark lines. Some portion of the fire-mist might become combined with the remaining gases, like aque-

A rotation once initiated, progressive shrinkage would be accompanied by progressive acceleration. The sphere of fiery vapor would assume the form of an oblate spheroid, a greatly flattened spheroid, and, ultimately, that of a rotating disc. Eventually the centrifugal tendency of portions upon the periphery would exactly counterpoise their gravitating tendency, and no further movement of these parts toward the center would take place. A peripheral ring would thus be held in equipoise. The remaining mass, continuing to contract, would separate itself from the outer ring. The latter would remain temporarily balanced in space, and rotating with the velocity with which it parted from the main mass. But its equilibrium would be one of instability. Perturbating attractions from without would beget an unsymmetrical movement. Undulations of the ring would begin, and become gradually exaggerated to such an extent that the ring would be rent asunder, when its whole mass, having perhaps previously assumed a granulated condition, would gather itself together in the form of a globe rotating on its axis and revolving about the general mass of vapor in the same direction as before. Thus was isolated the matter of the oldest planet of the solar system.

It is obvious, without further detail, that the residual mass, continuing to cool and shrink and accelerate its rotation indefinitely, would continue, in the progress of countless æons, to throw off a succession of rings like the first, which would become the materials for the entire series of planets. In reference to the asteroids, it remains uncertain whether each corresponds to a distinct ring, or all together represent a single original planet, shattered to atoms by a convulsion of nature. The mass of a planet physically suited to occupy the gap between Mars and Jupiter is such that some thousands of asteroids would be required to equal it. If the group of asteroids existed originally as a single ring, it is a physical possibility that it should have been rent into many fragments by the passage of a comet or other body through its substance. It is

ous humidity. But we may conceive the cooling and condensation to proceed so far that this fire-mist would descend in rain, and other gases would condense to fire-mist. In our discussion, no attempt is made to determine the particular condition of the aeriform substances at that juncture when rotation began, or at any subsequent stage of the evolution.

also appropriate to suggest that a ring of matter circumstanced as described would experience a tendency to stratification and ultimate segregation into several rings, as we see taking place in the rings of Saturn before our eyes. These separate rings, severally broken up, might form a group of small planetoids.*

We can form no adequate conception of the time requisite for the consummation of these results. No doubt the time-intervals involved in the history of creation are entirely correspondent with the space-intervals which we have seen to be so vast. Time is an element entirely eliminated from the study of events united in the relation of cause and effect. When we can discern such a relation, it is immaterial whether the cause act through years or chiliads of years. Besides, time is a factor which only sustains relations to finite existence, and not to an existence adequate to the production and sustentation of a universe. We must undoubtedly accustom ourselves to the contemplation of the vastest values of time and space, and cultivate the full assurance that the figures which we employ represent realities; and that, in short, the full realities transcend even the power of our calculus to express them.

The fact should be duly borne in mind that our hypothesis requires a general diminution in mass among the planets, in proportion as the circumference of the parent fire-mist grew less through loss of matter and shrinkage. We accordingly find the "giant planets" are all exterior to the earth. Moreover, the remoter planets should have least density, since, if the peripheral portions of the fire-mist were composed of its most volatile constituents, the earlier rings would take off matter more volatile than that of the later. Accordingly, while the density of Neptune, Uranus, and Jupiter is only one fourth or one fifth that of the earth, and the density of Saturn still less, the density of Mars and Venus is about the same as that of the earth, and the density of Mercury is one half greater.

We have seen a series of planetary bodies disengaged from

* M. Delaunay thinks that each planetary ring passed through a stage of accumulation around many local nuclei, and that ordinarily these were afterward drawn into one mass; but in the case of the ring between Mars and Jupiter a large number of distinct nuclear portions continued to rotate separately, (*Cours Élémentaire d'Astronomie*, p. 642.)

the general mass of fiery vapor, and entered, each for itself, upon a career of axial and orbital movements. We are to contemplate each planetary mass as constituting, at first, another sphere of incandescent material destined to go through the same history as the parent mass. Neptune, beginning his career as a rotating orb of flame, in due time detached a ring which became a satellite. Other rings were probably detached from a mass so large, and cooling therefore so slowly, but if so, the resulting satellites have thus far eluded the search of astronomy, hidden as they are in the depths of space. The planet Uranus, in like manner, detached, in process of time, a satellite, followed, in the progress of the cosmic ages, by seven others. A slow disturbing influence, supposed also to be recognized in the Neptunian system, has manifested itself in the Uranian, in an excessive obliquity of the plane of the Uranian satellites—an obliquity which considerably exceeds a right angle, and upon which we have already offered some considerations. What cause or causes operated to effect a partial overthrow of these two systems we can, at present, only conjecture. The cause seems to have been connected with the peripheral location in the primordial spheroid of fire-mist. Possibly, in those remote regions, somewhat approximating the empire of starry influences and control, our spheroid had not yet settled into that steady and symmetrical movement requisite to impart to its planetary offspring axial rotations in the same general plane as itself; and the plane of the planet's rotation departing from that of the original mass, its satellites' orbital rotations must depart equally from it. The fact that they do is a circumstance confirmatory of the nebular hypothesis. Possibly, instead of this cause, these obliquities are due to the proximity, in remote time, of some mass of matter since removed, which, acting upon the equatorial protuberances, increased the inclination of their axes to an extraordinary degree. Such mass of matter might have been one of those fixed stars whose proper motions we have before indicated. A star *may* be as likely to travel through the region occupied by our system as to travel elsewhere. Or, again, such mass of matter may have been a cometary body of such magnitude as has not been seen during the annals of our race. Meantime, we see no absurdity or improbability in the

supposition that the Neptunian and Uranian systems were originally conformed to the norm of planetary motions, and were thus a realization of the results demanded by the nebular hypothesis.

Saturn similarly disengaged his eight satellites. But here, again, we encounter a peculiarity. Saturn remains, to our day, surrounded by rings. This circumstance, instead of being an anomaly, seems an instructive confirmation of the grand hypothesis. The physical constitution of the rings is not known. Professor Pierce has shown, from an analytical discussion, that they cannot be solid and cannot be liquid. Three rings are now permanently present, but the inner one has only been observed since 1850. This is known as the dark ring, and the body of the planet can be seen through it. The middle one is the bright ring. The inner ring seems to be slowly increasing in brightness. The other rings have been seen to resolve themselves into several; and even the dark one has been seen in two. The ring system is also increasing in width at the rate of twenty-nine miles annually. Such observations seem to confirm Prof. Pierce's conclusions, and it becomes thus a question of deep interest to learn what is the constitution of the rings. Proctor* has recently suggested that they are composed of countless small satellites, and this hypothesis is thought to account for all the phenomena which they present. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, while the rings of Saturn exhibit as to form, they do not exhibit as to constitution, a phenomenon which should be a necessary incident of the nebular hypothesis.†

Jupiter, in the progress of his shrinkage, detached rings which became four satellites. If the asteroidal mass were ever accompanied by one or more satellites, their movements and their very existence have become confounded with the asteroidal bodies. This would be the necessary result of the disruption of a large planet in the midst of its satellites. Mars is clearly unaccompanied by a satellite; but Venus, which is about the size of the earth, has many times been pronounced thus attended; though the astronomers of the present century

* Proctor: "Saturn and his System," p. 118.

† "Il est entouré de ce merveilleux anneau qui subsiste là comme pour témoigner de l'origine de tout le système solaire." Secchi: *Le Soleil*, p. 352.

have not been able to confirm the statement. Mercury, even, has been thought to have a satellite, but the opinion has not been entertained by any recent observer. This deficiency of satellites on the part of the smaller planets is rendered probable by the requirements of the hypothesis, since the smaller masses would soonest chill to the liquid state, and by undergoing a less prolonged and less excessive shrinkage would experience less tendency to differentiate the peripheral and sub-peripheral velocities of rotation.

In accordance with this view of the origin of the solar system, the sun is to be regarded as the residual mass, still in the progress of change. Its present condition is one through which every planet and satellite has passed in the history of its cooling. It is still maintained at an incandescent temperature, simply because time sufficient has not yet elapsed for a body so vast to have cooled to a darkened state. All the opportunities for organic life on any of the planets are limited to the finite period of solar cooling.*

The smaller of the planetary masses, primary and secondary, whether disengaged in earlier or later times, seem to have attained such a condition of refrigeration as to cease to shine by their own light. This is certainly the case with Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Moon, and probably all the satellites. Our own moon, indeed, presents evidence of total refrigeration; while its surface retains the marks of ancient volcanic and earthquake activity, the absence of water and an atmosphere seem probably attributable to the absorption of these elements in the pores of the rocky substances of that body.

Mars and our own planet happen to be, at present, in that period of their history when the thermal conditions favor the presence of organic life. The mass of Jupiter is so vast that, though a much older planet, it seems to remain, in our times, in a state of partial incandescence. This condition is in-

* Mayer suggested that the sun's heat is maintained by the impact of countless numbers of meteoric bodies circulating through space, and gradually drawn into the solar vortex, (Mayer: "*Celestial Dynamics*," Youmans' ed., p. 276, *et seq.*;) "*American Journal Science*," [2,] xxxvii, p. 192.) Professor Newton computed the approximate number of meteors in the August ring alone at more than three hundred millions of millions, ("*American Journal Science*," [2,] xxii, 451.) This cause, however, is not regarded, at the present day, as an adequate explanation of the sun's heat.

dicated, first, by the remarkable changes observed in his form. At various times he has been seen to present what is known as the "square-shouldered" aspect, being greatly flattened at the poles and also about the equator. The semi-incandescent condition is indicated, also, by his remarkable brilliancy. While our moon reflects but one fifth the light received, and Mars but one fourth, Jupiter reflects three fifths of the light which falls upon his surface. This indicates a reflective capacity equal to white paper. Professor Bond, of Cambridge, even estimated his brilliancy greater than would be due to a total reflection of the light. Under these circumstances, the suggestion of Proctor seems plausible, that this planet still retains some portion of his inherent light. The third indication of a high thermal condition is the perpetual presence of a cloudy envelop. Nothing has ever been seen of the geography of Jupiter. Now, the intensity of the solar rays at Jupiter being but one twenty-fifth their intensity at the earth, it is incredible that this influence should suffice to maintain such a vaporous condition. Jupiter must be now in that stage of planetary cooling when aqueous vapor is first condensing and precipitating primeval rains upon the body of the planet—a condition the records of which are still perpetuated upon our own planet. Still another indication of a highly heated state is the low specific gravity of Jupiter. This is only one third greater than water, and one fourth the density of the earth. Besides the rarefaction produced by heat, it may be suggested that the apparent density is diminished by the exaggerated bulk of the planet, caused by the suspension of an envelope of clouds in the atmosphere, at an unknown height above the planet's surface.

The planet Saturn, though not exhibiting changes of form to the same extent as Jupiter, cannot be regarded as existing in a settled condition analogous to that of Mars and the earth, since important changes have been observed in his rings. This planet, moreover, is similarly concealed in a permanent envelope of vapors, and shines, also, with a degree of brilliancy exceeding the probable capacity of a dark planetary body for reflecting the solar rays. Saturn reflects one half the light which falls upon his surface, and, though aqueous vapors upon this planet and Jupiter must be expected to exhibit a greater

brilliancy than continental and marine surfaces, it seems probable that the brilliancy of both these planets is greater than could be without the addition of some inherent luminosity.

Of the physical condition of Uranus and Neptune we know very little, except that their density is only about one fourth that of the earth, and the light which they emit is greater than ought to proceed from the reflective capacity of dark bodies. The indistinct contour of Neptune is thought to suggest a nebulous condition.*

The facts and considerations thus presented all argue for the nebular hypothesis; and, in doing this, confirm our conviction of the unity of the solar system in reference to time, and the identity and persistence of a plan stretching through cycles of time whose vastness is commensurate with the abysses of space which thought must sweep over to reach the outer limits of co-existent worlds.

II. *Physical History of the Earth.*

The history of terrestrial matter subsequently to its differentiation from the general mass, presents, at the same time, a series of events sustaining a concatenated relation to each other, and an unbroken prolongation of the line of planetary evolution. It is, at once, a unit in itself and a unit with all the remoter past.

Directing our thoughts again to the condition of the earth after the disengagement of her satellite, we trace a succession of changes which may reasonably be regarded as the type of planetary changes in general. The incandescent vapor, in the progress of cooling, attained such a temperature that some of the most refractory elements began to condense and hang suspended as a mist in the heterogeneous medium formed of the other substances. As in the case of watery mist, particle coalesced with particle, and the heavier drops descended toward the common center of gravity. Thus a molten nucleus was formed, surrounded by clouds of fire-mist suspended in incandescent gases. The nucleus grew as the fiery rains de-

* Le vif éclat dont brille cette planète (Neptune) malgré l'énorme distance du soleil, pourrait même faire croire qu'elle est un peu lumineuse. Nous n'avons jamais vu son contour bien nettement terminé, ce qui s'accorderait parfaitement avec l'hypothèse d'un état nébuleux." Secchi: *Le Soleil*, p. 355.

scended, and the world attained a condition supposed to be illustrated in human times by the constitution of the sun. According to the reasoning of Hopkins and others, solidification may have begun at the center, even at this early period, the enormous pressure elevating the solidifying point of the materials to the temperature now subsisting.*

The earth was itself a luminous sun, visible in the heavens of the astronomers of any other orbs already cooled to a habitable condition. There are grounds for supposing that during this condition of the earth the moon had attained to a habitable state, and served as the abode of corporeal intelligences. But the axial rotation of the moon had not yet been strained by terrestrial attraction into coincidence with its orbital revolution, and hence its alternations of light and darkness were better suited than at present to the requirements of intelligences akin to man.

In the further progress of its cooling, the time arrived when the fire-mist would mostly have descended to the growing nucleus of molten material, and a heated, heterogeneous atmosphere of more volatile substances would still envelop the world. In the outer and thinner regions of this atmosphere the temperature would become sufficiently reduced to cause the condensation of aqueous vapor, while yet the lower regions probably remained in an intensely heated state. Oxygen and hydrogen, which had combined to form invisible steam at the highest temperature at which watery vapor can remain undecomposed, now furnished an abundant supply of cloud material. A vail of haze began to overspread the sky, which, in the course of ages, thickened to a pall of clouds which totally excluded the light of the sun. Rains began immediately to descend from such an accumulation of vapor, but the heated lower strata of

* The reader will bear in mind that central solidification is not supposed to have resulted from the sinking of dense solidified material cooled at the surface. The melting points of bodies given in tables are under the standard pressure of one atmosphere. It is supposed, however, that as the pressure diminishes, the melting point is lower; as it increases, the melting point is higher. Now, at a given time before solidification began at the center, the temperature was at a certain figure, and the solidifying point was at a certain lower figure. But the temperature descended; and with the increase of pressure, by the enlargement of the liquid globe, the solidifying point ascended. The actual temperature and the solidifying point mutually approached each other. They finally coincided, and solidification began.

the atmosphere prevented their reaching the glowing earth. Reconverted to vapors, they re-ascended to the clouds, to be again sent forth as rains and again returned as vapors. But every ascent of the vapors carried away additional portions of caloric from the atmosphere and the earth, and by degrees the ebullition which raged for a geologic cycle in mid-air settled toward the fervid crust. The excitation of the electricities developed lightnings and thunders, and the disturbances of the thermal equilibria awakened gusts and whirlwinds, and tempests, which rent the vapors on every hand.*

The zone which witnessed the struggle between the powers of water and the powers of fire settled at length to actual contact with the terrestrial surface. Before this, probably, the surface had been encrusted by a film of frozen lava. Now, the forces of fire must have seemed to make a new and more determined stand, but the waters at length began to prevail, and the germs of a seething ocean began to gather themselves in the lowest depressions of the terrestrial surface.

This stage of evolution we suppose to be represented in human times by the planet Jupiter.

The bed of the primeval ocean having cooled sufficiently to permit the waters to assume a state of repose, the supplies of vapor were diminished, and the clouds began to experience exhaustion. After an epoch of twilight, day broke full through the partings of the clouds, and a changed world was exposed to the genial beams of the ancient sun.

The ocean did not, at this time, cover the whole earth. The germs of continents protruded through the gathered waters. These germs were destined to undergo a systematic development. The earth now consisted of the nuclear mass,

* Years ago the writer reasoned out the probable circumstances attending the slow refrigeration of the earth. See "Theologico-Geology," a lecture published March, 1857, pp. 11-13; "Creation the Work of One Intelligence," a lecture published March, 1858, p. 5; "Michigan Journal of Education," May, 1858, p. 136; "Ladies' Repository," August, 1862, p. 490; "Sketches of Creation," 1870, p. 54. His views, though at first published with some anxiety, are the same as now promulgated by Figuier, Meunier, Dawson, and others. It appears, however, that some of his speculations were anticipated by Babbage, "Ninth Bridgewater Treatise," pp. 206, 207. The present writer generalized the law of terrestrial cooling and made it cosmical, applying it to the sun, several years before such views had been current in America.

still more or less molten, the forming crust and the enveloping waters. The process of cooling removed equal quantities of heat from the intensely heated interior and the cooler crust. But equal reductions of temperature cause greater contractions in more highly heated bodies. The nucleus, consequently, shrank more rapidly than the crust. The latter became, by degrees, too large for the nucleus, and a vacuum must be formed or the crust must wrinkle to adapt itself to the shrunken nucleus. Wrinkles were formed, and these became the *first land*—the germs of the continents of later times.

It may not be possible to assign the causes which determined the location of these wrinkles. It is, however, a circumstance of the utmost interest that the foundations thus early laid have served as the bases of the completed and inhabited continents. Thus, in North America, the germ of the land was a V-shaped ridge located in the region north of the St. Lawrence river and the great lakes. One branch stretched north-eastward to the coast of Labrador, and the other north-westward between Hudson's Bay and M'Kenzie's River to the Arctic Ocean. The original continent has become worn down, in later times, to a mere stump, but the stump testifies intelligibly and instructively. The materials worn from that primeval land were transported and deposited, on the east, in the bed of the ocean, along a region which was destined to become the Appalachian. There are evidences that a similar work was performed along the region destined to become the Pacific slope of the continent.

From epoch to epoch successive collapses of the crust raised higher and higher the once-formed wrinkles. The uprising of the Laurentian ridge widened, from age to age, the basis of the continent. The land grew, according to a method, by successive annexations on the south-east and south-west. Already there existed other wrinkles still covered by the waters of the ocean. They were the germs of the Appalachian folds of the crust, upon the east, and of the folds of the Rocky Mountains, on the west. By degrees these systems of ridges rose toward the surface of the ocean. The wide expanse of the continent was swung between these limiting barriers on either hand—a shallow lagoon, in which the forces of life were enacting a marvelous history. At an opportune juncture, after some ages of

premonitory tremblings, one grand series of paroxysms upheaved the ponderous masses of the Alleghanies, and with them brought to light the entire Atlantic slope of the continent, as far westward as Kansas and Nebraska. A similar upheaval, at a later period, brought up the masses of the Rocky Mountains, and some contiguous portions of the sea-bottom, though on that side of the continent the new land was not yet united to the older area. A broad channel was left, stretching from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Ocean.

The eastern portion of the continent was now completed to the region which has since become the lowland border of the Atlantic and Gulf of Mexico. Another collapse of the terrestrial crust, and a part of this border was annexed to the land, while the long midland channel was parted in the middle—one branch retreating to the coast border of Texas, and the other toward the far north. The eastern and western branches of the continent were now welded together. Still another collapse, and the continent was complete in all its outlines.

But one more revolution remained, and the land so long preparing would be fitted for the reception of its long-destined occupant. This consummation was effected by means of vertical movements of the solid crust. There was an uplift of the northern regions and a consequent reign of ice, a depression of the entire continent and a dissolution of the ice, a further depression and re-submergence of the land—then a slow uprising to the existing levels, and the work was completed.*

It is impossible to contemplate the history of continental growth without a profound conviction of the unity of method pursued.

1. The simple law of cooling matter determined and regulated the entire evolution. The terrestrial history was thus

*The continental history so hastily summarized embodies the results of the labors of a long list of American geologists. For our first comprehensive generalizations from the accumulated facts we are chiefly indebted to Professor James D. Dana. See his "Address before the American Association," at Providence, 1855, and his paper in the "Proceedings American Association" at Albany, 1856, both republished in "*American Journal Science*," [2.] *xlii*, 335; see also *ii*, 335, 352; *iii*, 94, 176, 381; *iv*, 88; also, "*U. S. Explor. Exped.*," 1849, pp. 11, 419, 429; also "*Manual of Geology*." Compare also Guyot: "*Earth and Man*," Lect. *iv*; Hitchcock: "*Religion of Geology*," p. 259; Dawson: "*Story of the Earth and Man*." For further details see also the writer's "*Sketches of Creation*."

a continuance of the cosmical. The dissipation of heat resulted in liquefaction, incrustation, gathered clouds, and precipitated oceans. The dissipation of heat, and consequent shrinkage of nucleus and crust, resulted in wrinkles which grew to mountain ridges with continents stretched between.

2. Vertical movements, as the immediate results of shrinkage, have evolved the lands; transposed, sometimes, land and water areas; made fitting marshes for the growth of coal plants, and sunk them, in turn, to the ocean bottom, and restored them again to the dry land; upturned the broken edges of the rocks to expose them and their contents at the surface; brought into existence a continental glacier to renovate the wasted lands, and re-admitted the ocean to assort the glacier *débris* and leave the surface as it is.

3. All the great topographical and hydrographical features of the continent were prefigured in earliest time. The primordial angulated ridge which some unknown cause located in the Canadian region was, in its trends, a prophecy of the existing shores and completed form. Mark the conformity of the Appalachian ridges and the Atlantic coast to the trend of the eastern branch of the primordial ridge. Mark the conformity of the Sierra Nevadas, the Rocky Mountains, and the Pacific coast, to the trend of the western branch of the primordial ridge. The great relief features of the land have determined the position of the great lake region and the great drainage valleys. The St. Lawrence flows along the foot of the primordial ridge on one side and the M'Kenzie's on the other. Hudson's Bay lies in the angle between them, as the Gulf of Mexico occupies the angle between the later Appalachian and Rocky Mountain ridges. The Mississippi Valley and River were necessitated by the incidents of earliest terrestrial history.

Such has been the *general* method of continent-building; for it is as true of the other continents as of our own. The latest results of terrestrial configuration have been but the unfolding of germs planted in the remote ages. The present is literally but a fulfillment of the prophecies of the past. It flows out of the past as a continuous and unbroken stream.

That stream took its rise in the utterance of the mandate which called the matter of our system into being. From that source we have traced it downward through all the ages, and witness the same stream rushing past us and losing itself in the future. What the future may reveal, borne on the stream of events, becomes a most suggestive subject for inquiry; but our object is simply to cite and collate the facts which sustain the grand generalization of the historical unity of the solar system, rather than deduce the ultimate consequences of the persistence of the current of events.

Grand as is the sweep of the mind's eye when we look forth from the altitude of thought thus attained, we have not reached yet the loftiest pinnacle of contemplation. We have appealed to the gaseous condition of some of the nebulæ, but have not suggested the obvious inference that their history furnishes as strict a parallel as their substance and condition to the case of our own system. The truth is, if we rightly read these wonderful wisps of cosmical light, that they are illustrating before our very eyes the actual processes of world-formation. Some present the appearance of a continuous, dimly luminous gas or fire-mist; some show the nebulous matter in a coagulating process; some manifest an unmistakable movement of gyration; some are approximating the stage of ring-formation. The conviction is urged upon us that the Creator is carrying forward in the distant heavens, in various stages of development, the same work which, in our own system, has reached a stage so advanced. And then the stars as they shine with their varied light are reading to us the chapters of the history of sun-life. That they are suns the spectroscope no longer leaves room to doubt. There are those which still exist in an early stage of formation, glowing with the intensest heat—the *white stars*, like Sirius and Vega. There are others more advanced, whose light has attained the *yellow* stage, like Aldebaran and Pollux. And then, as Secchi suggests, the *variable* stars reproduce the actual condition of our own sun, with light at intervals dimmed by an excess of maculations upon their discs. And there are yet others, the *red stars*, older than our sun, beginning to glow with a hue which distinctly betokens their waning heat. We think there is still another chapter of sun-life related in the heavens. There are the

temporary stars which from time to time burst forth, like those in the Whale (in Tycho Brahe's time) and in the Northern Crown, (in our own time,) in the dark intervals of space, and glow with a proper starry light for months or years, slowly to fade and disappear. What are these but still older suns which have reached the eruptive stage which supervenes on incrustation and unavoidable collapses of the wrinkling crust? Shall we call them old, decrepit suns, or youthful planets? They are both. The old age of a sun is the infancy of a planet. As suns they utter a prophecy for our solar orb. As planets they rehearse a reminiscence of our home-world. The sky is all one vast arena of world-production. We had thought, in our narrowness and ignorance, that creation was complete and finished, but Nature is as busy to-day as she ever was; and here are the evidences that she has never ceased to elaborate. Lift our eyes high enough, and we see the universe like a forest, in which the history of the century-old tree is recited in the hundred stages of growth which we trace downward from the veteran to the sapling and the succulent twig—a panorama of history as well as a network of mutual relationships.*

Neptune, Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter, as already intimated, though older in years, are younger in development, than our world. Mars is possibly already senescent. The moon is dead and fossilized and desiccated. And yet the cemetery in which she lies is the bourne toward which the whole procession of cosmical bodies is steadily marching.

We cannot stand upon this pinnacle of thought and contemplate the scene without emotion. In one horizon we behold nebular mists springing into being. They roll on through ages, rising in the firmament as glowing suns in successive stages of incandescence; they rush past us as planetary bodies clad in verdure and animated by the multifarious scenes of animal life; they recede from the present with the wrinkles of old age written upon their brows, and descend beneath the opposite horizon, numb and chill and unconscious, to the burial-place of effete worlds. All there is of the present world—its heats and snows, its waves and earthquakes, its upspringing and decaying vegetation, its births and its deaths—

* The writer takes the liberty to refer to his little *brochure* entitled "The Geology of the Stars," in which these ideas are more fully wrought out.

all are but incidents in an unflinching progress. The phases of to-day—nay, of a generation, a century, the life-time of a race—are but transient, following other scenes that are past, and making place for the new conditions which roll on in the plan of the All-wise and the All-powerful. Before our eyes the great current of events surges on—unhasting, unrelenting—like the mighty, ceaseless sweep of suns and systems through the boundless abysses of space.

So we view things present, things past, and things to come. Every age is the unfolding of a previous age, and itself conditions the events of the following one. That this is *evolution* we most frankly admit and most solemnly affirm. If we could not detect this relation of genesis between the antecedent and the sequent, we should miss the clearest revelation of thought in the physical world, and the strongest argument for God—one God, infinite in wisdom and in power. If the changes of the universe are now in progress, after the lapse of the past eternity; if they tend toward a finality instead of moving in a circle, as all the evidence shows that they do, then this movement of events had its origin in *finite time*; for, otherwise, every possible issue would have been reached an eternity since. We trace the material evolution back to the condition of a fire-mist, and for all that we can render probable this was its first condition. The lapse of time since then, however vast, is not eternity. The evolution of the universe belongs in finite time. But how of the matter of the universe? Finite, we reply; for if of infinite age, then it existed dead and motionless through an eternity before that evolution began which we behold in progress; and no cause short of omnipotence can be assigned for the vivification of matter an eternity without life. Dead an eternity, dead for all eternity.

It is an evolution, indeed, over which science leads us to this commencement. But she can lead us no further. This beginning was not evolved. Demand the antecedent condition, and she has no response to give. Demand the origin of matter, and the forces which animated it, and she is dumb. Sometimes, because she cannot climb quite to God, she refuses to have anything to say about God. Philosophy, however, bridges the awful chasm which separates that which is primordial to science from that which is primordial to thought. She

is the beautiful, heavenly guide which takes us by the hand and leads us into a clear light, where we read lines of truth not revealed to the eye of science. The cosmical evolution had a beginning; therefore, some adequate cause began it. Matter and force exist; therefore, they have been caused to exist. The method of the evolution in progress in the universe is framed in strict accordance with the laws of thought; it is, therefore, the product of intelligence. The worlds of space, like the individual inhabitants of any world, are bursting into birth with the succession of the ages; therefore, creative and formative activity has never slept. There is a Being revealed in the depths of human consciousness who stands forth clothed in all the attributes of the Being thus revealed in the cosmos; therefore, the God of Nature and the God of the soul are one.

Gladly and devoutly do we take a further step. We have spoken of the forces of matter, and have viewed them as evolving worlds. What do we know of the nature of these forces? We know that, while in their essence inscrutable, they tend more and more to reveal themselves as but forms of one force. What is this *one force*? Sir William Thomson uttered the suggestion of the common intelligence when he said, in substance, that the controversy between materialism and Christian faith was likely to be reconciled in the mutual recognition of *immediate Divine agency* in the one force which manifests itself in Nature under so many guises, working out such an infinitude of results. This, while an old suggestion of philosophy, is a new confession for science. It commends itself equally to the thinking and the religious nature of man; and neither science nor philosophy can bring one witness against it. We are comforted to feel that the forces of Nature are but the immediate exertions of Divine will. The laws of Nature are but God's uniform methods of acting. The more demonstrable the evolution of a system of events, the clearer the revelation of the antecedent and accompanying exercise of Divine thought and power. The whole universe is radiant with the presence of God and vocal with the thoughts of God; and we rise, at last, to that awe-inspiring conception of the relation of Deity to his works which seems to have been almost a national inspiration in the Hebrew mind. "Who layeth the

beams of his chambers in the waters ; who maketh the clouds his chariot ; who walketh upon the wings of the wind." "He looketh on the earth and it trembleth ; he toucheth the hills and they smoke."

ART. VI.—DR. CHAMBERLAYNE ON SAVING FAITH.

IN the "Methodist Quarterly" for October, 1873, we find a review of Dr. Chamberlayne's work on "Saving Faith." From the highly eulogistic character of the review there can be no doubt of the writer being in harmony with the author respecting the peculiar teachings of the work. We had almost said, too, that there can be no doubt of his intention to bring the work very prominently before the Methodist Church, and its ministers in particular, with the design of incorporating such teaching into the theology and constitution of said Church. Perhaps, however, there is room for doubt whether he wishes the book to be thus widely read. He requests all cursory readers and superficial thinkers to let it alone. Hence, it is not the Church generally, only persons of profound and comprehensive minds, who are to peruse it, and be instrumental in effecting the suggested changes. We hope this is not intended as a warning to objectors that they are to consider themselves superficial, and therefore are to refrain from making known their objections.

The writer of these lines examined very closely Dr. Chamberlayne's work soon after its publication. He saw in it evidence not only of an earnest purpose, but likewise of a very acute mind, of wonderful skill in framing an argument, and of extensive research upon the subject discussed—more, however, *without* than *within* the circle of Methodist writers. But the doctrine of the book occasioned much surprise, being so directly contrary to what he had learned in a forty years' membership in the Methodist Church. Could it be that he had been mistaken all these years in his views respecting the Methodist doctrine of saving faith? After considering the subject for some time he turned to Mr. Wesley's works to satisfy himself. A protracted examination led to the conclusion that the views of the book were anti-methodistic as well as anti-scriptural. He withstood the

earnest solicitations of many ministerial brethren to publish his conclusions, supposing the work itself would produce but a very slight and transient wave on the surface of Methodist thought; but as an effort is now made to push the little volume into great prominence, he offers his views to the periodical which has been used for this purpose.

Still, he has considerable doubts whether he shall be allowed thus to present himself before the Church. He has understood for years, though he cannot say now upon what authority, that opposing papers upon any subject are never admitted to the pages of the "Quarterly." It seems, however, that the case in hand might form an exception to such rule. The reviewer asks for a thorough investigation of the whole matter referred to in the book; he states his conviction that the work should at once be placed on the list of preparative ministerial studies, being better fitted for a place on such list than almost every book now on it; and he assumes throughout his article that many, perhaps we should say the majority, of Methodist preachers are fundamentally wrong in their ideas respecting saving faith. If the work be thus important to Methodism, and so much be claimed for it, opinions pro and con may properly be placed before the Church, such opinions being expressed with due regard to truth and brotherly affection.

Is saving faith a condition of membership in the Methodist Church? This is the first question of the book. The answer is plain and easy. Since the year 1864 a profession of such faith has been required from every person who seeks full membership. But Dr. Chamberlayne contends that the General Rules require such faith; hence, it has been a condition not only of completed, but likewise of initial, membership ever since those rules were published; and hence, again, General Conference acted under a mistake when it passed a resolution requiring such a profession ere full membership is granted. An objection is anticipated grounded on the description given in the General Rules of the persons forming the Church, namely, "a company of men having the form and seeking the power of godliness." The author meets this by the statement that such a description may "very well consist with any measure of saving faith on this side heaven." We more than doubt this statement. To say of a mature Christian that he has the form and is seeking the power

of godliness would certainly be misleading. Such a one possesses this power. He may and ought to be seeking a larger degree of it, but this is not expressed in the words before us.

To other statements similar objections might be made, but we pass on. To substantiate his position respecting the requirement of the General Rules, the doctor investigates the nature of saving faith; and having at some length brought forth his idea, proceeds to draw from it certain inferences. It is this statement of his doctrine, and the inferences, with the proofs of each, which constitute the body of the work.

We have no intention of following Dr. C. or his reviewer into all the side issues they have raised. What we propose is to present clearly the fundamental idea of the work—that of Saving Faith—to notice a few of the doctrines drawn from it and to show, as we proceed, that these doctrines are contrary to the teachings of Wesley and one or two other leading minds of the Church.

One of the first things which impressed us on reading Dr. C.'s work was the statement that in the views he presented he differed from all other Methodist writers except Wesley and Fletcher. He censures General Conference for making certain changes in the Discipline out of harmony with his ideas, thus showing that General Conference differed from him. He affirms that no previous writer on either side the Atlantic has presented the view he presents. After referring to Wesley and Fletcher, he says: "If later and lesser Methodist writers do not harmonize with these two, such writers must make their peace with *Wesleyan* Methodism as best they may." And he speaks of discovering, or rediscovering, the views of Wesley after such views had been lost. Here, certainly, was ground for surprise. Mr. Wesley wrote the General Rules to show the condition of membership in the Methodist Church. According to Dr. C., if these rules should be misunderstood, Wesley's and Fletcher's writings clearly reveal their meaning. Yet Methodist preachers, Methodist writers, and Methodist Conferences, from Mr. Wesley's day to the present, have not understood what that condition is, but have adopted an opinion just the contrary to that which Mr. Wesley intended. Well may the reviewer ask, If this be true, is it not remarkable? Well does he say, The phenomenon must be regarded as one of the most remarkable

of ecclesiastical mutations. Strange that these brethren did not see that such a statement ought never to have been made, without irrefragable proof drawn from Mr. Wesley's writings after thorough and protracted search.

The fundamental error of Dr. C. will be found in his view of Saving Faith. Before, however, we present that view, we will, for the sake of clearness, state what we suppose to be the Methodist idea of the process by which a sinner is converted.

1. There is wrought in the sinner's mind conviction of sin. This involves the knowledge that he is a sinner; a fear of the evil threatened by God against sinners; a sorrow for and hatred of sin, together with a determination to turn from it; a desire for salvation; a consciousness of moral feebleness; some hope that God will forgive, which leads to prayer. A person with these experiences is said to be under conviction—a penitent.

2. There must be faith in Christ. By this we mean not a mere belief in the doctrines of the Bible, even those respecting the person and work of Christ. But we mean a reliance upon Christ's death for the forgiveness of sins. Deeply conscious of his own guilt, unworthiness, and helplessness, the sinner must, by a special mental effort, trust in or depend upon that death. This trust or reliance is all that is immediately required for pardon.

3. At the moment any one thus believes, not only are his sins forgiven, but his heart is renewed by the Holy Spirit; thus changing the current of his nature and strengthening him to do the will of God. This we understand to be the Methodist view on this subject.

Now we inquire, What is Dr. C.'s opinion of saving faith? He promises a definition a little less complicated and inexact than any which has fallen under his notice. We listen: Faith is of two kinds—objective and subjective. Objective faith is simply believing what the Bible teaches, especially as to Christ, and salvation by him.—P. 22. This objective faith is an act of the intellect, "a sheer act of the faculty which perceives, understands, and judges."—P. 24. This faith, however, never saves a man. Subjective faith alone can do this, and subjective faith is "that change which brings the affections and volition into active harmony with the divine testimony."—P. 25. As this is a vital point in the doctor's scheme, he returns to it again

and again. We quote further, abridging his language to save space. This faith, he says, enters the heart. There the Spirit excites fear of menaced evil, hope of promised rescue, desire of salvation from sin, . . . which is nothing less than the genesis of love to holiness, which is love to God. Involved in this work of faith [we should prefer saying work of the Spirit, as the author himself has just before said] is sorrow for and hatred of, sin, with all other [appropriate] affections.—P. 25. These persuade volition, which decides on full and unreserved surrender to the claims of God, by consenting to receive Christ to teach, to atone, to reign.—P. 26. Again, this is “a faith assenting to all, consenting to all, the truths of Divine testimony, fearing, hoping, grieving, hating, loving, willing—all harmoniously with the word of God, harmoniously with his will.”—P. 29.

From these definitions and descriptions of saving faith it will be seen that Dr. C. includes in such faith the three stages we have marked in the process of conversion. Saving faith includes hope, fear, desire, sorrow for, and hatred of, sin. It includes the reception of Christ to teach, to atone, to reign. It brings the affections and will into active harmony with the word of God. And this is the definition which we were told should be less complicated and inexact than any which had fallen under our author's notice. If this be so, we pity the author. We cannot, however, but believe he is mistaken. Some of Mr. Wesley's statements upon this subject are faulty, as shown by Dr. C., yet his works abound in correct definitions of saving faith: clearer, perhaps, and more exact than this by Dr. C.; and we refuse to believe the doctor has not read them.

Perhaps we have said enough to show the view of saving faith presented in the work, but would like to dwell upon the point a few moments longer. The fundamental position of the book may be thus formulated: Any exercise of the sensibilities and the will, which includes a desire for salvation, and a willingness to receive it, is saving faith. Dr. C. examines the case of the eight or ten persons who sought Mr. Wesley's advice, the *nuclei* of Methodism as he terms them. These were deeply convinced of sin, and earnestly groaning for redemption. To be convinced of sin, he says, proves objective faith; but grieving for the one, and groaning for the other, was

"nothing less than believing with the heart." This earnest groaning shows "a full consent, an unutterable longing to receive the Infinite Good," which we know the Gospel assures to all "on the simple, sole condition of feeling the need of and heartily consenting to receive it."—P. 54. Again the doctor says: "He who, being truly penitent, brings forth fruit inwardly and outwardly meet for repentance, is at the very time he does so possessed of saving faith." These statements are too definite to allow any doubt respecting the author's meaning.

Our intention is, as we have said, to test this view by Mr. Wesley's writings. In passing, however, we may remark that if it be correct, the publican was in a state of justification when he went up to the temple to pray, as well as when he went down to his house; the penitents on the day of Pentecost were in a state of forgiveness when they asked, What shall we do? Saul was a pardoned sinner before he reached Damascus, though Ananias exhorted him three days after to wash away his sins, calling upon the name of the Lord. The Philippian jailer was a believer, and in a state of salvation, when Paul exhorted him to believe on Christ, that he might be saved.

Having laid down his doctrine of faith, Dr. C. proceeds to state other doctrines either involved in or to be inferred from that, and employs many pages of his work in an attempt to show that Mr. Wesley taught these inferred doctrines. The logic by which these doctrines are deduced from the view given of faith we believe to be strictly accurate. If the doctrine respecting faith be correct, so are these other doctrines. But, on the contrary, if these doctrines be incorrect, there must be error in the more general one from which they are logically drawn. That these are incompatible with Mr. Wesley's teachings we shall now show. Yet we will not examine every one. An exposure of the incorrectness of the principal ones will render unnecessary any remarks respecting the others.

We are about to give a number of quotations from Wesley's works, and it seems necessary to make a remark or two respecting the value of such quotations. Both Dr. C. and his reviewer intimate that Wesley's earlier views underwent serious modifications, and claim that the peculiar teachings of the work agree with Wesley's maturer utterances. As the citations from Wesley given in the work date from the year 1747, per-

haps earlier, to 1788, the alleged change must have occurred early in his life. That Mr. Wesley did change his opinions is well known, and is acknowledged by himself in his writings. See Works, vol. vii, p. 494; vi, p. 164. He denies, however, any change subsequent to the year 1738. vii, 494; vi, 162, 164. Now we certainly will not quote from Wesley any passage written earlier than this date.

Suspecting, however, that Dr. C. will plead a change later than this, we beg permission to add a few more lines. In the midst of his apostolic labors and travels Wesley wrote and published a great many works. During the years 1771 to 1774 he republished a uniform edition of the whole, excepting his Notes, his Philosophy, his Christian Library, and his school books. Respecting this edition Wesley says: "I have altered many words or sentences, many others I have omitted, and in various parts I have added more or less as I judged the subject required, so that in this addition I present to serious and candid men my last and maturest thoughts."—Vol. i, p. 10, Preface.

After this declaration it will be useless to speak of immature views expressed in Wesley's writings, for the views therein given are Wesley's, not when he was thirty-five or forty years of age, but when he was seventy. It may be remarked, too, that as late as the year 1784, when he was eighty-one years old, in the trust deed which he had drawn up for his meeting-houses, Wesley mentions the four volumes of his sermons then published and his notes on the New Testament as the standards of doctrine for his connection. Of course these must have represented his views at that time. Subsequently to this, in 1787, he revised his notes on the New Testament, and January 1, 1788, he republished, after revision, the sermons he had written for the "Arminian Magazine." His works which we have, revised by himself, are the sermons he published after January, 1788, and his other works published subsequently to 1774. We suppose, too, that his private letters were not revised. We shall find occasion to refer to these dates farther on.

We have already seen that Dr. C. asserts repentance to be an evidence of saving faith; every one who is truly penitent is possessed of such faith. In proof, he gives extracts from the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, from Andrew Fuller, who says, "I have no notion of a penitent unbeliever," and from

the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church. But what is of more importance to our purpose, he attempts to prove it by a quotation from Wesley. In his note on Acts xi, 18, Wesley says, "True repentance is a change from spiritual death to spiritual life, and leads to life everlasting." On this our author reasons thus: A saving change can spring only from saving faith. But true repentance, according to Wesley, is such a change. Therefore it springs from saving faith. Thus Mr. Wesley is made to teach that saving faith precedes and produces repentance. Did he believe this? In his sermon on the Scripture Way of Salvation he says: "Repentance and its fruits are necessary in order to faith, faith is immediately and directly necessary to justification."—Vol. i, p. 388.

In his Farther Appeal he says: "Repentance absolutely must go before faith, fruits meet for it, if there be opportunity. By repentance I mean conviction of sin, producing real desires, and sincere resolutions, of amendment."—Vol. v, p. 35.

In the Minutes of the first Conference we find these questions and answers: "Is faith the condition of justification? Yes. But must not repentance, and works meet for repentance, go before faith? Without doubt, if by repentance you mean conviction of sin."—Vol. v, p. 194.

And in the Principles of a Methodist Farther Explained, after defining faith as "a sure trust and confidence that Christ died for my sins, that he loved me, and gave himself for me," he adds: "The moment a penitent sinner thus believes, God pardons and absolves him. I say a *penitent sinner*, because justifying faith cannot exist without previous repentance."—Vol. v, p. 302.

Omitting further citations, let us see where we now stand. Here is a line from Wesley from which it may be inferred that saving faith precedes repentance. On the other hand, we find scattered through his writings positive declarations as plain as language can make them that repentance precedes saving faith. Which of these opinions shall we say was Wesley's? the one inferred from the solitary line, or the one positively stated so many times? There can be but one answer. But that answer will involve the thought that the author of the work under consideration is not a true expositor of Mr. Wesley's views.*

* We apprehend, however, that there is no discrepancy between the two statements by Wesley. In the former statement the word "repentance" embraces,

The reviewer pleads for an increased knowledge of Watson, Benson, and Clarke, by our ministers. Dr. C., however, in a very summary manner, sets aside all Methodist writers besides Wesley and Fletcher. "If later and lesser Methodist writers do not harmonize with these, they must make their peace with *Wesleyan* Methodism as best they may." This is a strong insinuation of the unsoundness of these later and lesser writers. Notwithstanding this, there are Methodists who believe that Richard Watson and Adam Clarke understood Methodist theology as well as Dr. C. does, and are as reliable teachers of it. A passage from each of these may not be out of place.

Watson says: "It were absurd to allege contrition, penitence, and fear as the proofs of our pardon, since they suppose that we are still under condemnation."—*Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 276.

Dr. Clarke says: "The order of the great work of salvation is: 1. Conviction of sin; 2. Contrition for sin; 3. Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, as having been delivered for our offenses and risen again for our justification; 4. Justification, or pardon of all past sins." See *Clarke's Theology*, by Dunn, p. 148.

Suppose Methodist preachers adopt Dr. C.'s opinion that every penitent sinner has exercised saving faith. This will necessitate a great change in our modes of operation. A man is in a prayer-meeting penitently pleading for mercy. Shall we exhort him to believe on Christ? He is a believer. Shall we encourage him in seeking salvation? He is a saved man. What can we do but tell him to cast away his fears and sorrows; they arise from a mistaken idea respecting his present standing; he is already in possession of saving faith? What Methodist preacher will commence this method of dealing with penitents?

But what shall we say when these persons, with ecstatic joy diffused over their countenance, tell us they have just found salvation? Our author tells us there is a faith which goes before pardon, and a faith which follows after, and which may include assurance.—P. 50. Here is certainly a curious distinction, "Which may include assurance." The inference is that it may not. Then we have a faith which precedes pardon, a faith which follows it but does not bring assurance, and a third faith

generically, as it often does, the whole change from the unregenerate to the regenerate state, and so, of course, includes faith. But in the latter, "repentance" has its special sense, and precedes faith.—Ed.

which does bring assurance. Will Dr. C. explain? But this in passing. Have these penitents exercised the faith of assurance? If so, how wretchedly deceived have Methodist preachers been for several generations in regard to these experiences. Poor, foolish, ignorant men! they have supposed these persons have exercised the faith which brought pardon, when they merely exercised the faith which brought assurance. They were pardoned when they came forward for prayers. Who will receive and teach this doctrine?

Another point upon which Dr. C. is at variance with Mr. Wesley respects the standing of a penitent sinner. The doctor contends that such a one is not under the wrath of God. This agrees with what we have before noticed. If penitence is a proof of saving faith, a penitent cannot be exposed to the Divine wrath. But penitents like those who came to Mr. Wesley see the wrath of God continually hanging over their heads, and wish to know how to flee from it. Dr. C. answers that these impressions are delusive, and quotes Fletcher to sustain him. We pass this, as our purpose is to show the doctor's want of harmony with Wesley. But Mr. Wesley asserts the same thing, and the author quotes these words: "Such a one is actually in a state of acceptance; . . . the wrath of God no longer abideth on him."—Vol. ii, p. 385. Respecting this passage, we only say here that it is directly contrary to Mr. Wesley's teachings in other places.

Thus, in the sermon on the Spirit of Bondage and Adoption, Mr. Wesley, speaking of a convicted sinner, says he has "fear from a lively sense of the wrath of God, and of the consequences of his wrath; of the punishment he has justly deserved, and which he sees hanging over his head—fear of death as being to him the gate of hell, the entrance of death eternal—fear of men who if they were able to kill his body would thereby plunge both body and soul into hell."—Vol. i, p. 79.

And again, in the same sermon: "An unawakened child of the devil sins willingly; one that is awakened, unwillingly." "Dost thou commit sin? If thou dost, is it willingly or unwillingly? In either case God hath told thee whose thou art. He that committeth sin is of the devil. If thou committest sin unwillingly, still thou art his servant. God deliver thee out of his hands!"—Vol. i, p. 83.

The sermon on the Way to the Kingdom contains the following passage: "Knowest thou not that every sinner is under the sentence of hell fire, doomed already, just dragging to execution? Thou art guilty of everlasting death. Art thou thoroughly convinced that thou deservest God's wrath and everlasting damnation? If God hath given thee truly to repent, thou hast a deep sense that these things are so."—Vol. i, p. 55.

Let us now return for a few moments to the passage quoted by our author. We find this was written in 1788 or 1789, when Mr. Wesley was in extreme age, and when his memory had partially failed, and, as will be seen by the date, it had no revision by him. We may say, too, that it stands alone in Mr. Wesley's works. Another statement of the same import we have not been able to find during a diligent and prolonged search. On the other hand the passages we have adduced were written in the prime of his manhood, were revised and republished by him in the full maturity of his powers, and are found in those parts of his writings which he selected as the embodiment of doctrine for his Societies. In this case, then, of Wesley *versus* Wesley, which view shall we accept as his? It seems to us that no unprejudiced inquirer after Mr. Wesley's teaching would hesitate to place the passage cited by Dr. C. among the few *errata* to be found in his (Mr. Wesley's) works.

In confirmation of what we have said upon this point we will briefly refer to the hymns Mr. Wesley gave his people to sing. The last hymn-book he prepared for use in his Societies is dated October 20, 1779, and is still used by the English Wesleyans. No one will suppose that Mr. Wesley would put into the mouth of his people sentiments he believed to be incorrect. Under the heads of "Mourners Convinced of Sin," and "Persons Convinced of Backsliding," we find the following language:

Guilty I stand before thy face;
On me I feel thy wrath abide;
'Tis just the sentence should take place—
'Tis just, but O! thy Son hath died. (No. 127.)

A sinner weltering in his blood,
Unpurged and unforgiven,
Far distant from the living God,
As far as hell from heaven. (No. 150.)

Out of the deep I cry,
Just at the point to die;
Hastening to infernal pain,
Jesus, Lord, I cry to thee. (No. 151.)

Earth doth not open yet
My soul to swallow up,
And, hanging o'er the burning pit,
I still am forced to hope. (No. 172.)

* I tremble, lest the wrath divine,
Which bruises now my sinful soul,
Should bruise this wretched soul of mine
Long as eternal ages roll. (No. 181.)

These quotations will suffice, and we only add that it is impossible to read the hymns published by Mr. Wesley under the heads mentioned above without meeting on almost every page sentiments differing from those of Dr. Chamberlayne.

Upon this point Watson writes: "It is not true that repentance changes the legal relation of the guilty to God. . . . The sentence of the law is directed against transgression, and repentance does not annihilate, but acknowledges the fact of transgression. The charge lies against the offender; he may be an obdurate or a penitent criminal, but in either case he is criminal of all for which he stands truly charged. How, then, can his relation to the Lawgiver be changed by repentance?"—*Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 97.

The following is Dr. Clarke's statement: "Penitent sinner, thou hast sinned against God and thine own life. The avenger of blood is at thy heels. Thou art never safe till thou hast redemption in Jesus' blood. Believe on the Son of God, and thou shalt not perish, but have everlasting life."—*Theology*, p. 126.

Another doctrine upon which Dr. C. differs from Mr. Wesley is that of the assurance of salvation. This is in agreement with his other teachings; for if a man has exercised saving faith and is accepted of God, while he sees the wrath of God hanging over him, such a one must have the divine favor without knowing it—yea, when he actually believes he has it not. One of our author's main positions is that "assurance is not essential to saving faith, nor therefore, necessarily, connected with it."—P. 63. This language is indefinite. Assurance is not included in saving faith, but follows it. So

far Dr. C. is right. He adds, "nor necessarily connected with it." We believe that some consciousness of being in the divine favor is joined with such faith, but whether it is necessarily so or not we care not to discuss. The doctrine of the author is more clearly expressed on other pages. Thus he says, "To doubt or directly question the existence and exercise of saving faith by the subject is consistent with its presence and exercise in the same subject."—P. 67. "Mr. Wesley is not invited to say whether believers, advanced to a state of maturity, know their sins forgiven or not. For, happily, his large family have never felt a jar upon that head."—P. 96. Again, on page 102, he quotes from Mr. Wesley these words: "By a sense of pardon I mean a distinct, explicit assurance that my sins are forgiven. This is the common privilege of real Christians." Dr. C. explains the phrase "real Christians" thus: "Elsewhere called adult Christians and adult believers." From these quotations it will be evident that Dr. C. represents Wesley as teaching that assurance is not the experience of all Christians, but belongs only to "adult Christians," "adult believers," or believers advanced to a state of maturity.

Before proceeding to notice how Dr. C. attempts to prove this position, we would inquire what authority he has for saying that by real Christians Mr. Wesley meant adult Christians. Are there no real Christians but those that have grown to the stature of men in Christ Jesus? Where is the line in Mr. Wesley's works which favors a meaning like this? The statement certainly requires proof, yet proof is unfurnished.

Upon this point, too, we notice a little discrepancy between Dr. C. and his reviewer. The latter says, "By saving faith he [Dr. C.] does not usually, if ever, mean mature faith. He generally, if not always, means the faith of acceptance. . . . It is not salvation complete, but salvation so far as to secure release from the divine displeasure, and the condemnation of the violated law. But the newly born is yet an infant only, not a man of full stature in Christ. He may or he may not enjoy the sense of assurance." That is, according to the reviewer, an infant may enjoy the sense of assurance; according to Dr. C. this belongs only to adult Christians. We leave the reviewer to make his peace with the author as best he may.

But it is time to produce the quotations by which Dr. C. attempts to show Wesley's opinion. The first runs thus: "I have not for many years thought a consciousness of acceptance to be essential to justifying faith." This line is found in Wesley's works, vol. vii, p. 495. The doctor quotes unfairly. Let us show the connection. Mr. Wesley says he believes a few, very few, Christians have an assurance of eternal life. More have such an assurance of present salvation as excludes all doubt and fear. A consciousness of being in the favor of God is the common privilege of Christians fearing God and working righteousness. [Let us remark just here that throughout Dr. C.'s book "fearing God and working righteousness" is the description of Christians who are without such a consciousness.] Mr. Wesley continues: he will not affirm that there are no exceptions to this rule. Possibly some may be in the favor of God and yet go mourning all the day long. But this is usually owing either to disorder of body or ignorance of the Gospel promises. Then follows Dr. C.'s quotation. From the whole passage it is evident that Mr. Wesley believed such an assurance to be the common experience of Christians, but allowed there might be exceptional cases. Dr. C. represents him as believing it to be the experience only of adult or mature Christians.

The other quotation upon this point the doctor gives from Miles' History of Methodism, apparently unaware that the passage is to be found in Wesley's works. It is there, however, in an undated letter to Charles Wesley. (Vol. vi, pp. 659, 660.) Tyerman quotes part of the letter, and says it was written in July, 1747. (Life of Wesley, vol. i, p. 552.) In it Wesley says: "By justifying faith I mean that faith which whosoever hath not is under the wrath and curse of God. By a sense of pardon I mean a distinct, explicit assurance that my sins are forgiven. I allow that there is such an explicit assurance; that it is the common privilege of real Christians; and that it is the proper Christian faith which purifieth the heart, and overcometh the world. But I cannot allow that justifying faith is such an assurance, or *necessarily* connected therewith."

Tyerman represents this as a change from Mr. Wesley's former views, and adds, "he held this corrected view to the

end of his life." This statement favors Dr. C.'s use of the passage, but Tyerman is a poor authority upon a point in theology.

The objection to his statement is that Mr. Wesley wrote and published many things in his subsequent life contrary to the tenor of this letter. In his sermon on the Marks of the New Birth he says: "The Spirit beareth witness that we are the children of God. In whom doth the Spirit bear this witness? In all who are the children of God."—Vol. i, p. 157.

In his *Farther Appeal* we find these words: "The moment a penitent sinner believes this, God pardons and absolves him. And as soon as pardon or justification is witnessed to him by the Holy Ghost, he is saved."—Vol. v, p. 35.

This latter passage was written in 1744, the former probably before 1747, but both underwent the revision of 1771-74. The following passages were written later than 1747. In a letter to John Smith, (supposed to be Archbishop Secker,) dated March 22, 1748, Mr. Wesley says: "You will all the day long stretch out your hands in vain, unless you teach them [his parishioners] to pray that the Spirit of God may inwardly witness with their spirits that they are the children of God."—Vol. vi, p. 653.

Yet if he believed a man could be accepted of God without this witness of the Spirit, how could he say that such labor must be in vain?

In May, 1753, Mr. Wesley, at the request of his Conference, wrote a letter to Whitefield complaining of some few things Whitefield was reported to have done. In this epistle, speaking of his preachers, Wesley says: "Some of them have been grieved at your mentioning among our people some of those opinions which we do not believe to be true; such as, 'a man may be justified and not know it;' that 'there is no possibility of falling away from grace;' and that 'there is no perfection in this life.'"—*Tyerman*, vol. ii, p. 167. Yet Dr. Chamberlayne says Mr. Wesley believed a man may be justified and not know it.

At the Conference of the same year it was asked, "Does every one know the exact time when he was justified?" The answer was: "It is possible he may not know what to call it when he experiences this, especially if he has not been accus-

tomed to hear the scriptural doctrine concerning it. And the change then wrought in some may not be so sudden, or so observable, as it is in others. But generally, wherever the Gospel is preached in a clear and scriptural manner, more than ninety-nine in a hundred do know the exact time when they are justified.—*Tyerman*, vol. ii, p. 168.

Writing to Richard Thompson, July 25, 1755, Wesley says: "It is no absurdity to suppose that when God pardons a mourning, broken-hearted sinner, his mercy obliges him to another act: to witness to his Spirit that he has pardoned him." And in a later letter to the same person he refuses to retract or soften this expression. (Vol. vii, pp. 107, 109.)

We would not unnecessarily multiply citations from Wesley, but request permission to add two more. In the sermon on the Scripture Way of Salvation, published, Tyerman tells us, in 1765, we find this passage: "Faith is a divine evidence that Christ loved me and gave himself for me. It is by this faith that we receive Christ in all his offices as our Prophet, Priest, and King. . . . 'But is this the faith of assurance, or faith of adherence?' The Scripture mentions no such distinction. The apostle says, 'there is one faith;' one Christian, saving faith. . . . And it is certain this faith necessarily implies an assurance that Christ loved me and gave himself for me. For he that believeth with the true, living faith hath the witness in himself: the Spirit witnesseth with his spirit," etc.—Vol. i, p. 387.

Writing to Joseph Benson, May 21, 1781, Mr. Wesley says: "That some consciousness of our being in the favor of God is joined with Christian faith I cannot doubt."—Vol. vii, p. 80.

We have by no means exhausted the passages in Wesley's writings which teach this doctrine; but what we have given will probably be sufficient to show his opinion. Still, the words quoted by our author were undoubtedly written by Wesley. The subject had just occupied the attention of Conference. Wesley continued to think upon it; wrote out his thoughts "roughly," as he says in the letter, and sent them to his brother. Dr. Chamberlayne wishes to exalt this letter to the dignity of a full statement of Wesley's doctrine upon the subject, ignoring entirely the many statements contrary to it which he afterward wrote. Undoubtedly there is a contra-

diction* between the letter and the passages we have quoted. The doctor can make much of this ; but we doubt whether any well-informed reader will be misled by the one-sided statement.

We would at this point introduce another quotation from Dr. Chamberlayne. Page 35, he says: "It is a law of the government of the blessed God—a law of universal application—now to accept, for Christ's sake, all who now heartily believe and sincerely obey, . . . the time and manner of making them acquainted with his acceptance of them being left in his own power." The contrariety of this to Mr. Wesley's teaching must be obvious to every reader of the passages we have quoted. It is the doctrine of the Calvinistic Churches, with which Methodism has ever held a controversy on this subject. The statement entirely omits every thing peculiarly Methodist in the doctrine of assurance.

Does any one inquire whether Mr. Wesley taught that every true Christian has an assurance of salvation? We reply that this opinion was frequently expressed by him. This he believed to be the general rule; still he admitted there might be exceptions, owing, as he said in his letter to Dr. Rutherford in 1768, "either to disorder of body or ignorance of the Gospel promises." Some years previous to this (in 1756) he ex-

* We imagine that Mr. Wesley's eye would survey all these passages without a sense of contradiction.

The case is this. A general principle there is which is practically true for all cases at present occurring; but there are certain exceptions, of theoretical importance, to be stated when a full exhibit of the absolutely true doctrine is to be made. Now it is too much to require of a man who is called every day to state the principle for the cases occurring, and for practical purposes, that he should always slavishly tack on the exceptions, or be held responsible for a contradiction.

As the ordinary principle in the Wesleyan revival, and as a rule whose fulfillment ought always to be required, *the evidence of acceptance followed the acceptance*. For the soul seeking salvation it was an all-important rule, *not to stop till the evidence was attained*. Often, therefore, Wesley most justifiably stated the rule without the qualification. When the *theory*, however, was to be discussed, he made the limitations over and over again, as given on page 111. The limitations are, "Generally, wherever the Gospel is preached in a scriptural manner." This allowed that accepted heathen and Christians, in a dim dispensation, might not be able to rightly interpret the divine evidence into a clear assurance. Even though the light be divinely given, humanly it is not truly construed.

Wesley's words to Whitefield, to Secker, and to Richard Thomson, state the fact as seen under the clear Gospel. His words, as quoted by Dr. C. and by Tyerman, and as minuted at the Conference of 1753—all given above—recognize the qualifications.—Ed.

pressed the same opinion to R. Thompson thus: "My belief in general is this, that every Christian believer has a divine conviction of his reconciliation with God. The sum of the concessions is, I am inclined to think there may be some exceptions."—Vol. vii, p. 110. Very like this was the doctrine of the Conference of 1747, where, after asserting the belief that justifying faith is a divine assurance, etc., it was further stated that "we are inclined to think there may be some exempt cases." But it is immediately added, "It is dangerous to ground a general doctrine on a few particular experiments."—Vol. v, pp. 206, 207. This, however, is just what Dr. Chamberlayne is trying to do by adducing in his book the cases of William Cowper, of a Methodist preacher named Haine, and one or two others.

Watson teaches thus: "The adoption of sons follows upon our actual redemption . . . in other words, our pardon. Upon our pardon the Spirit of His Son is sent forth into our hearts, producing filial confidence in God, crying, 'Abba, Father.'"—*Inst.*, vol. ii, p. 270.

Dr. Clarke says: "As to the doctrine of assurance, (or the knowledge of our salvation by the remission of sins, or, in other words, that a man who is justified in Christ Jesus knows that he is so, the Spirit bearing witness with his spirit that he is a child of God,) against which such a terrible outcry is made, I beg leave to ask, What is Christianity without it? A mere system of ethics, an authentic history, a dead letter. This assurance of God's love is the birthright and common privilege of all his children."—*Theology*, p. 156.

We have now examined Dr. Chamberlayne's work on the relation of penitence to saving faith, on the relation of a penitent to the great Lawgiver, and on the doctrine of assurance. On all three we have shown a great discrepancy between him and Mr. Wesley. But Dr. Chamberlayne's views upon these points are necessarily connected with his views of saving faith. With the one the other must stand or fall. Any attempt to induce the Methodist Church to accept a doctrine of faith which would necessarily lead to opinions so diverse from Wesley's must, we think, prove a failure. We agree with the reviewer, that more knowledge of Watson, Benson, and Clarke would "diminish the peril of swerving from

our primitive standards of doctrinal and experimental divinity;" and this notwithstanding Dr. Chamberlayne's low estimate of these later and lesser writers. But the knowledge of these men we should like to see prevailing would be a thorough one; not a knowledge of a few passages taken out of connection with all else they have written. And we feel confident that such knowledge would secure the Church from receiving the peculiar teachings of the work under our notice.

Of those teachings we have noticed but a small part. And in our quotations, too, from Watson and Clarke we have given but one from each upon each point examined when a dozen were lying before us. But we have probably written enough to weary the reader. One or two remarks in conclusion:

First: We object to the method in which Dr. Chamberlayne attempts to show Wesley's opinions. Mr. Wesley was a voluminous writer, yet had little time for writing. What wonder if occasionally a sentence fell from his pen not well weighed in all that it involved? That he wrote such sentences is shown by his occasional notices of correcting or expunging them. Dr. Chamberlayne, by a rigorous, though partial, reading of Wesley finds a few such sentences, quotes them, and, when it suits him, bends them by a severe logic into harmony with his own views, and proclaims these as Wesley's opinions. Yet these proclaimed opinions are in direct opposition to many of the plainest and most positive opinions Wesley ever wrote. This we conceive to be an unfair method. A few months ago, a Universalist preacher discovered a short paragraph in Wesley's writings which he alleged taught Universalism, and, on the strength of this, claimed Wesley as a believer in that faith. A pretty severe reply speedily appeared in the Methodist papers. But what shall we say to a Methodist preacher who, by similar means, attempts to show as Mr. Wesley's certain opinions which Mr. Wesley has repeatedly denied? Dr. Chamberlayne claims to be the discoverer of certain of Wesley's opinions which he asserts have been lost. Undoubtedly he is the discoverer of what he proclaims.

Second: We have another objection to Dr. Chamberlayne's method. It is well known that the Methodist and Calvinistic Churches have differed upon many points of doctrine. Dr. Chamberlayne's scope embraces some of these points. He

attempts to prove his views by "orthodox theologians generally," and Wesley and Fletcher in particular. But these orthodox theologians are almost invariably Calvinistic ones. The proof passages come from the Westminster Confession, Dr. John Dick, Andrew Fuller, Christmas Evans, Richard Baxter, and others. In a passage quoted by Dr. Chamberlayne, Baxter rejects the doctrine of the direct witness of the Spirit as an Antinomian dotage, a pestilential and dangerous error, and warns his readers strongly against it. Dr. Chamberlayne undoubtedly believes the doctrine; but after reading such a passage, however much honor may be given to Baxter as a noble Christian man and a great theologian, we should suppose the doctor would be rather jealous of his teachings respecting the doctrine of assurance. On the contrary, he says: Baxter's testimony on the subject of assurance is of itself entitled to end all controversy. How far would Dr. Chamberlayne follow such a principle as this declaration involves? But, generally, are we to correct our Methodist theology by accepting as unquestioned proofs the statements of Calvinistic divines? We are told in the latter part of the work that if the Methodist Church adopts the views it contains, we shall receive the gratulation of the whole sisterhood of Churches. Of course we should. The Calvinistic Churches would rejoice exceedingly if Methodism, renouncing her own views, would accept of theirs. But such a jubilee is not near.

ART. VII.—THE DAY-YEAR INTERPRETATION.

IN interpreting certain prophetic Scriptures, more especially in the books of Daniel and the Revelation, some of our ablest and best English and American commentators have adopted what has been called "the Day-year theory." In particular passages they have regarded a day as standing for a year; on the other hand, the Jesuits, the Germans, and a few American scholars, have denounced this theory in the strongest terms. They have said "it never ought to be true, and never can be." They have discarded it as being "utterly baseless, false, and of course mischievous and delusive."

The question is of much importance, as it involves the interpretation of some of the more interesting portions of the Bible. Let us for a few moments consider this question, and endeavor to come to a right understanding of it.

The question is not whether in *all* the prophetic Scriptures a day stands for a year; for certainly this is not the case. In most of the passages where days are mentioned, the word day is to be taken in its literal signification.

But does it, in *any cases*, stand for a year? And can this be proved, either by the testimony of Scripture, or by the obvious fulfillment of prophecy? We believe it can be, and shall proceed, in few words, to justify this opinion.

When it was predicted of the Israelites that they should wander in the wilderness forty years, it was added: "After the number of days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, *each day for a year shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years.*" Num. xiv, 34.

So Ezekiel, when predicting the siege and capture of Jerusalem, was directed to lie on his left side *three hundred and ninety days*, which days denoted so many years. These years may be calculated from the establishment of idolatry by Jeroboam in the kingdom of Israel, to the final desolation of the whole land, in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadnezzar, a period of precisely three hundred and ninety years. When the prophet had accomplished these days, he was directed to lie forty days more on his right side, which represented the forty years that intervened betwixt Josiah's reformation and the same final desolation. "*I have appointed thee each day for a year.*" Ezek. iv, 1-6.

In the prophecy of Daniel, this same mode of representation is unquestionably resorted to. "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy." Dan. ix, 24. This prediction refers, undoubtedly, to the Messiah, and to the time when he should appear to make expiation for sin. The commencement of the seventy weeks is fixed by Daniel himself, or rather by the revealing angel. It was "from the going forth of the decree to restore and to

build Jerusalem." Dan. ix, 25. This decree was given to Nehemiah by Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the twentieth year of his reign. Neh. ii, 1. And from this time to the death of Christ, according to the best chronologists, is four hundred and ninety years, or *seventy weeks, counting a day for a year.*

It is objected to this interpretation that what our translators have rendered seventy weeks is in the original of Daniel *seventy sevens*, which may mean seventy sevens of years, that is, *four hundred and ninety years*; thus bringing us to the same result, without supposing a *day* to stand for a year.

The only question here is, Did Daniel, or the revealing angel, intend, by the seventy sevens, sevens of days, or sevens of years? We think he must have intended sevens of days, *hebdomads, weeks*; since, from the creation, time had been divided into weeks of seven days, but years had never been so divided. A seven, a hebdomad, would naturally be understood to mean seven days, though the word days should be omitted. So the word hebdomad has always been understood. Critics have no more reason or authority for changing the meaning here into sevens of years than they would have for changing it into sevens of hours or sevens of months. The proper translation of the passage before us is that contained in our Bible: "*Seventy weeks* are determined upon thy people, and upon the holy city,"—that is, seventy times seven days—four hundred and ninety days; and the fulfillment of the prophecy shows that each of these days must stand for a year.

Instances of this species of interpretation occur in the Revelation. Thus it is said to the Church in Smyrna: "The devil shall cast some of you into prison that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days." Rev. ii, 10. No one can suppose that the persecution here referred to would be limited to ten literal days. The reference is, undoubtedly, to the Diocletian persecution, which lasted ten years.

It is believed by the most respectable commentators that the army of locusts swarming forth from the bottomless pit, on the blast of the fifth trumpet, denotes the vast army of Saracen warriors by whom a great portion of the earth was overrun and devastated for many years. This army was to continue its ravages for *five months*. Not five literal months; no one can entertain such a supposition. A much longer period must

be indicated. On the "Day-year theory," the five months represent one hundred and fifty years. Let us see, then, how long the Saracen conquests continued.

The Saracens first issued from the deserts into Syria, and commenced their wars upon Christian nations, about the year 629. From this time, for the next hundred and fifty years, they were the most successful warriors on the earth. They carried their conquests through Egypt and all northern Africa, and then through the greater part of Spain and into France. At the same time they twice besieged Constantinople, and laid waste the greater part of the eastern Roman empire. They entered Europe from the East, intending and expecting to unite their eastern and western conquests somewhere in Italy, and to have all Christendom at their feet. But they were defeated and driven back in France by Charles Martel in the year 732. Soon after this their conquests were checked in the East, and by the year 779—one hundred and fifty years from the commencement of their ravages—their power to injure had in great measure ceased. The Caliphs had become rich, luxurious, and effeminate; they built cities, palaces, and castles; they devoted much time to the pursuits of science and the arts of peace. They did not cease to exist as a people, but their power to do hurt was taken away. They were no longer a terror to their Christian neighbors and to the nations of the earth.

We have an instance of the same kind under the sixth trumpet, when the Euphratean horsemen—almost universally allowed to represent the Turks—invaded Western Asia, captured Constantinople, and destroyed the last remains of the old eastern Roman empire. For a time they were prevented from crossing the Euphrates by the power of the Caliphs. But in the year 1055 Bagdad was taken by the Turks, and the way was opened for the extension of their conquests westward. They crossed the Euphrates with a vast army, chiefly horsemen, which John sets down as "two hundred thousand thousand." Gibbon says that "they overspread a frontier of six hundred miles."

After this army was let loose upon western Asia, it was to continue "for an hour, a day, a month, and a year." No one can suppose these numbers to be taken literally. They must denote a much longer period. On "the Day-year interpreta-

ation," they stand for about three hundred and ninety-one years. Supposing the Turks to have commenced their career of conquest in 1062—which is as soon as they could be expected to commence it after crossing the river—and adding to this number three hundred and ninety-one, we have 1,453, the precise year in which Constantinople was taken. There is some diversity of statement as to the year in which the Turks commenced their wars in western Asia; but the result in every case comes very near to that stated above. And surely it is a most remarkable result, going to assure us of the accuracy, not only of the prediction which contains it, but of the method of interpreting that prediction.

We have another instance in the Revelation equally striking. When the two witnesses had finished their testimony they were slain, and their dead bodies lay unburied "in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt," three days and a half. Then "the spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet." Rev. xi, 3-11. These witnesses are supposed to denote the faithful few who were found at their post through all the Middle Ages—the Paulicians, the Cathari, the Culdees, the Lollards, the Albigenses, the Waldenses—holding up the light of truth, and braving the hatred and persecution of the world. As the time of their testimony in sackcloth drew to a close, they were assailed with unwonted violence. Their enemies were determined either to silence them or destroy them. Wars were waged against them; crusades were set on foot for their destruction; the Inquisition was busy at its work, and in the short period of four years is said to have destroyed one hundred and fifty thousand persons.

At length, as we approach the time of the Protestant Reformation, Rome ventured to proclaim that her work of destruction was accomplished. At the ninth session of the Lateran Council, held in the year 1513, the orator of the session ascended the pulpit and affirmed: "There is an end of all resistance to the Papal rule and religion; opposers exist no longer. The whole body of Christianity is now seen to be subject to its rightful head—the Pope." It is probably from this time that the three days and a half, during which the bodies of the witnesses remained unburied, are to be reckoned.

And it is wonderful to record that in three years and a half from the date of the above proclamation, that is, in the autumn of 1517, Luther commenced his attack upon indulgences, life entered again into the bodies of the dead witnesses, and the Protestant Reformation was ushered in.

In the cases above cited, "the Day-year interpretation" is supposed to be verified by the actual fulfillment of prophecy. There are other instances in the Apocalypse which are to be interpreted in the same way, the fulfillment of which is not yet accomplished. The terminus *ad quem* has not been reached. In the latter half of the Revelation we find frequent mention of a period styled the forty and two months, and the twelve hundred and sixty days, during which the Church is to be persecuted and well-nigh destroyed by its enemies. The holy city is to be trodden under foot forty and two months, and the two witnesses are to prophesy in sackcloth twelve hundred and sixty days. Chap. xi, 2, 3. The mystical woman is to flee into the wilderness and be nourished there for the same period. Chap. xii, 6, 14. And the beast rising out of the sea is to continue his iron rule forty and two months. So, in Daniel, the saints are to be given into the hands of the power represented by the little horn until "a time, times, and dividing of time," three years and a half, forty and two months, twelve hundred and sixty days—the same period as that indicated above.

No sober interpreter can suppose that these several numbers are to be understood literally. They must indicate a much longer period.* Interpreting them on the "Day-year theory," each and all of them signify twelve hundred and sixty years, the period of papal rule and domination in the Church. Each and all of them terminate together, at a time yet future, in the great conflict immediately preceding the millennium.

* Even Professor Cowles, who denounces and ridicules "the Day-year theory," does not himself interpret the above notations of time literally, but prolongs them indefinitely, or as much as he has occasion. He says: "It matters not how long the two witnesses did actually testify to the Jews before the fall of their city," p. 127. Of the mystical woman he says: "God kept her in the wilderness *as long as the occasion demanded*," p. 147. So the forty and two months of the beast's continuance indicates, according to Professor Cowles, "*an indefinite period of calamity*," p. 155. Even the thousand years of the millennium does not, in his reckoning, signify a thousand years, but a vastly longer period.

If we knew with certainty when the twelve hundred and sixty years commenced, we might fix the date of the millennium. But this we do not know. When was the mystical temple measured, and the court of the Gentiles left out, and the holy city given to be trodden under foot? When did the two witnesses commence giving their testimony in sackcloth? When did the mystical woman flee into the wilderness, to be sheltered and nourished there? When were the saints of the Most High given into the hands of Daniel's little horn? We have not the means of answering definitely either of these questions. Perhaps the periods indicated by them did not all commence together, but at different times in the course of a century or more. Papal Rome did not rise to the height of its supremacy all at once. Its usurpations were gradually assumed, its abominations were gradually accumulated, and its prostration and breaking up may be gradual. The millennium may not be fully introduced at once. It may come in gradually, and in some of its stages almost imperceptibly. Its light, which even now may be streaking the east, will shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day.

There is, however, one of the apocalyptical symbols, denoting the commencement of the twelve hundred and sixty years, which, as it seems to me, is quite definitely fixed: I mean the rising of the beast out of the sea, in the thirteenth chapter. This beast, I cannot doubt, signifies Papal Rome in its *political, secular* character. It arose when the Pope received his temporal dominion and became a king. This took place in the year 756; and the twelve hundred and sixty years added to this will make the millennium to commence in about the year 2060, or in the six thousandth year of the world.

Meanwhile the way will be constantly preparing for it; revolutions will be taking place one after another, and the power of the Papacy will be steadily diminishing. But at the time above-mentioned the millennium, I trust, may be fully introduced, and the seven thousandth year of the world will be the great Sabbatical period.

We have shown that in the prophetical Scriptures a day is often, though not always, reckoned for a year; and if it be inquired how we are to determine when the word day is to be so reckoned and when not, I answer: In these cases, as in

others, we are to be guided chiefly by the connection and the sense. Thus, when it is said in Jeremiah, "These nations shall serve the King of Babylon seventy years," there is nothing in the connection to show that the literal sense of the words is not intended. So, when it is predicted by Daniel that the pollution of the sanctuary by Antiochus Epiphanes should continue two thousand and three hundred days, the numbers are to be understood literally. Chap. viii, 14. But when it is said of the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast—signifying a terrible persecuting power—that the saints of the Most High shall be delivered into his hands until "a time, times, and dividing of time," that is, three years and a half, the connection shows that the terms cannot have a literal interpretation; a period much longer than three and a half years is obviously intended.

If any object that this "Day-year interpretation" is wholly arbitrary, that there is no reason or occasion for it, and therefore it must be unsound, it will not be difficult to show that there is a principle involved in it, and that it was not adopted by the Holy Spirit without the best reasons. It was adopted, as is evident in most of the cases where it occurs, to give *continuity* and *congruity* to the symbols employed. Without it, or something like it, there would be an utter incongruity. Thus, when the Church is represented by a travailing woman flying into the wilderness, there to be nourished for twelve hundred and sixty years, the statement is monstrous. The woman could not live a tenth part of that period. But by substituting days for years, and supposing each day to stand for a year, the whole representation becomes consistent and agreeable.

The same explanation will apply to the beast in Rev. xiii, who is to continue his ravages for twelve hundred and sixty years. But no beast can live twelve hundred and sixty years. To avoid the absurdity of such a representation there is a necessity of adopting the "Day-year theory," and then the whole becomes consistent: a literal beast may continue forty and two months.

And so of the locusts representing the Saracen warriors in chapter ix. If it was the intention of the revealing Spirit that these should continue one hundred and fifty years, why

did he not say one hundred and fifty years? Why limit their ravages to five months? Because locusts do not live one hundred and fifty years, nor commonly more than five months. The Spirit, therefore, adopts the "Day-year principle," and says they shall continue five months, which are one hundred and fifty days, and stand, symbolically, for one hundred and fifty years.

In cases like those here adduced, it is necessary that both parts of the representation should be interpreted in the same way. If one part is a symbol, so must the other be. In the cases we have considered, the woman, the beast, and the locusts are confessedly symbols; and so the numbers must be, a day standing for a year.

The germinant idea of this method of interpretation seems to have been derived from Moses. "After the number of days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years." Num. xiv, 34. From Moses it was adopted by Ezekiel and Daniel, and the writer of the Revelation. It enables the writer to prophesy in symbols, and at the same time to make his symbols congruous and consistent.

In this short article I have endeavored to set forth, explain, and defend the "Day-year" method of interpretation because I think it a matter of great importance. Without it, I feel sure that the books of Daniel and the Revelation can never be properly and consistently interpreted.

ART. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

AMERICAN CHURCH REVIEW, October, 1873.—1. The Law of Divorce. 2. Philosophy of the Eucharist. 3. Rawlinson's Parthia. 4. Literary Skepticism. 5. Prince Bishop of Breslau. 6. Tradition.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY, October, 1873. (Philadelphia).—1. Girolamo Savonarola. 2. Free Trade and Protection. 3. Resurrection of Christ. 4. The Relation of Prayer to Pastoral Efficiency. 5. Transfiguration of Christ. 6. The Political Responsibility of the Christian Citizen. 7. Our Schools and Foreign Missions. 8. Paul as an Argument for Christianity.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, October, 1873. (Cincinnati).—1. Collegiate Education for Girls. 2. Infant Baptism. 3. Miracles. 4. Dogmatism and its Cure. 5. Fénelon and Religious Toleration. 6. "The Sabbath."

MERCERSBURG REVIEW, October, 1873. (Philadelphia.)—1. Christianity and Humanity. 2. Scripture View of Divine Worship. 3. The Scope and Spirit of Scientific Research. 4. The Doctrine of Baptism as taught in the Heidelberg Catechism. 5. Dalton on the Heidelberg Catechism. 6. The Union of the Divine and Human in Jesus Christ. 7. The Presbyterian Theory of Christian Baptism.

NEW ENGLANDER, October, 1873. (New Haven.)—1. The Scientific Demolition of Prayer. 2. Modern Physical Discoveries and their Limitations. 3. Current Fallacies concerning Ordination. 4. How American Women are Helping their Sisters. 5. Flies in the Ointment. 6. Doctrinal Creeds as Tests of Church Membership. 7. The Study of Words. 8. A Reminiscence of the Stackpole House. 9. The Friendship of Goethe and Schiller.

QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1873. (Gettysburgh.)—1. What is the Church? 2. Bismarck *versus* the Pope. 3. The Lutheran Church in Illinois. 4. Amateur Theology. 5. Justification by Faith. 6. The Training of the Young of the Church. 7. Organization for Efficient Work.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1873. (Boston.)—1. The Destiny of the Creature. 2. The Assassins. Part Second. 3. Man and his Position in Nature. 4. The Opinions of John Wesley. 5. German and Anglo-American Morals. 6. Sufficient Provision.

PRESBYTERIAN QUARTERLY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1873. (New York.)—1. The Modern English Pulpit. 2. Faith: Its Place and Prerogative. 3. The New Testament Meaning of Eternity and Eternal. 4. The Vatican Council. 5. The Necessity of Religious Instruction in Colleges. 6. Infant Baptism. 7. Life and Its Origin. 8. The Harmony of the Gospel Accounts of Christ's Resurrection. 9. The Contrast between Man and the Brute Creation Establishes the Divine Origin of the Scriptures. 10. Eating and Drinking Unworthily.

Dr. Lord's able article on "The Modern English Pulpit" has a full section on the Methodist pulpit, written in the strain usual in some quarters; namely, glowing with eulogy on the Methodism of the past, but chill with evil augury to the Methodism of the present and future. We give the closing part of the section:

"The six millions and a half of Methodists in this country indicate something as to the power of a pulpit whose baptism is not that of human learning, or wisdom, or eloquence, for in these things it is exceptionally deficient, but is that of the Holy Ghost and fire. We imagine, however, that this offshoot of the Anglican Church has reached its most triumphant period. It is losing that which is more convincing than authority, wiser than learning, more attractive than eloquence. It has felt the doctrine which it has preached; it has discarded, almost despised, the graces of culture; it has been rude and coarse, but it has been sincere and in earnest; it has not had many preachers who knew how to 'divide the word;' not many who could mix the light of the sun, the roar of the torrents, and the sublimity of the heavens in their speech; not many of melting voice, and graceful gesture, and beautiful simile; not

many who could interpret the Psalms, or explain the prophets, or unfold 'the things hard to be understood' in Peter and Paul; but it has had a great company who could touch the hearts of men, and make them ask, 'What shall we do to be saved?' But like all reactionary churches, it at last comes to the state from which it reacted. It is ambitious for the things which it has left. It is tending to the excellency of speech which it disdained. It is lowering its conception of the ministry, and in its anxiety to be greatest in the kingdom of God, it is losing the ideas which have made it great as it has been."—P. 582.

This reminds us of an article in the "Westminster Review" of twenty years ago, touching on Wesley and Methodism, glorifying the first generation of English Methodists, as men of striking natural endowments and rare power for effect, in consequence of their intense sincerity, and setting them in vivid contrast with the insincere, mechanical, and *effete* Methodism of the then dead present. Yet never in all her history has Methodism made more gigantic advances than during the twenty years of that dead present. And during all that period not a biennium has passed in which some prophet has not arisen, and with a rare freshness of inspiration, blended with profound philosophy, predicted that "Methodism has fulfilled her mission; she was a great power in the past, but her methods and spirit will fail for the future." Dr. Lord's vaticination is one of the series, just as good as the thousand and one of its falsified predecessors. We do not think that with the Presbyterian, as with the infidel soothsayer, the wish is father to the thought. But somehow the method of both is the same—a eulogy of the past to the disparagement of the present. And somehow the query arises: Did the past Methodism, when present, receive better courtesies than the now present? When Wesley and his preachers were really living and at work, did infidelity write eulogies on their characters? And as for our American Methodism of fifty years ago—fough! what a *mormo* it was in the eyes of the then living Presbyterianism! It is only the *past*, not the at any time *present*, Methodism, that these prophets admire. They write blazoning eulogies only on the assumption that their eulogies are epitaphs.

About the Methodist preaching of the past Dr. Lord knows

about as much as he really does of the Methodist preaching of the far future. A large share of our preaching has, no doubt, been rude and coarse; but never, like the parallel Presbyterian sermon-reading, sleepy and paralytic. And as for those "who could mix the light of the sun, the roar of the torrents, and the sublimity of the heavens in their speech," etc., the learned doctor prattles like a babe. It is from oratory as oratory, native-born pulpit oratory, such as the schools can never teach and seldom reach, that much of the popular power of Methodism in the past has been derived. When from a countless host we select the names of Asbury, M'Kendree, Bascom, Summerfield, Maffit, Cookman, Fisk, and Olin, we fear no comparisons.

But Methodism is one of the "reactionary Churches" and must relapse. What great Church, we reply, was not in its origin "reactionary?" Protestantism itself, Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and Quakerism—all, like Methodism, had their "reactionary" phase. Methodism, like all but the last of these, possessed, however, not only a negative reactive phase, but it also has its positive element of permanent persistence. More than a century of tireless progress, unfolding in an increasing variety of methods and agencies, adjusting itself to every new demand of the age, would seem to decide that point. As for being "ambitious for the things that it had left," Dr. Lord does not know, we presume, how widely he misstates our history. Methodism began in a university, and she did not go out, but was hustled out. She began in consecrated churches, and stayed until she was driven into the streets and fields. When she came to this country she found the college gates frowning upon her, and the "standing order" scowling at her. One of the first enterprises of our first bishops, Coke and Asbury, was to build a college and call it after their own names, **COKESBURY COLLEGE**. And when reprimanded by Wesley for calling it so big a thing as a "college," they none the less determined that a college it should be. After it was twice burned down, leaving a heavy indebtedness, they concluded, perhaps not unwisely, that their immediate mission was the open Gospel field. For a while the university work was suspended. In that interval there arose, doubtless, hundreds among us who distrusted learning itself as an aid to religious progress. Popular preachers even, feeling their defect of col-

lege education, indignantly deprecated the advantage they did not possess. But never did Methodism forget her origin in a university, or cease to boast that her founder was a "fellow" of Oxford. The very preacher who sneered at "college-bred parsons" was often heroic in his readiness for sacrifices in the cause of building "a college of our own." And when Methodism enters upon schools, and colleges, and universities, and seminaries, she only returns to her starting-place. The scenes of enthusiastic liberality which we have witnessed in Methodist Conferences in behalf of a seminary or a college would fully attest both that the Methodist ministry never lost its original affinity for higher education, and that they had no doubt that our learning might be impregnated with all the glowing zest of our religion in the past. And this, we confess, is the problem before us. Here Dr. Lord predicts that we shall trip. Here, however, we think and trust that it is Dr. Lord himself that trips.

For, does the learned doctor really believe that zealous, aggressive piety, touched with the holy fire of the past, is really incompatible with learning? We submit to Dr. Lord whether he is not herein adopting the very theory attributed to untaught Methodism, namely, that religious life must lower as the intellectual life rises. We believe no such libel upon our religion. The very fact that our Methodist opposers of education were converted to its cause by the sweeping revivals that proved our schools to be the place to get their children converted, is a cheerful prophecy that religious zeal and intellectual culture may beautifully blend in our future history.

In the article on "Infant Baptism," by Rev. Erskine N. White, that rite is grounded upon the doctrine of INFANT REGENERATION. Those who have objected to that doctrine on the ground that it is a denial of depravity, must be surprised to find it maintained by that branch of the Church which, of all others, has placed the strongest emphasis on the totality of our depravity.

Among the conditions of proper baptism the reviewer reckons *Presumptive Regeneration*, and thus proceeds:

"Baptism, as we have seen, symbolizes regeneration; but *presumptive* regeneration is all that we can predicate of any candidate whether old or young. God only reads the heart,

and we have reason to believe that all Churches contain unworthy members.

"Among the apostles, called by the Lord himself, there was a Judas; Paul was forsaken by Demas; and this experience has been repeated in every age.

"Thus, in regard to the children of believers, it cannot be asked that their regeneration shall be proved as an invariable fact, but only that there shall be proved to be in its favor a presumption such as we deem necessary in the case of adult candidates for the same sacrament.

"That there is warrant in the judgment of charity for such presumption, and as a basis of ecclesiastical procedure, and that so far the children of believers are to be treated as regenerate, we argue from the following considerations:

"1. The regeneration of infants is *possible*.

"*a.* Regeneration is a work of the Holy Ghost, transforming the soul. It is the divine side of that great change of which the human side is 'repentance' (*μετάνοια*) or conversion. Logically, the act of God must precede the act of man, although in point of time they may be often coincident. The Holy Ghost can change the heart of the confirmed bigot and persecutor Saul; he can transform, if it pleases him, the moral nature of an infant.

"*b.* A conscious acceptance of Christ at the moment of regeneration is not a necessary accompaniment. We believe that all children dying in unconscious infancy are saved. They enter heaven only as redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, and as with a moral nature transformed by the power of the Holy Ghost. Their first conscious thought must be in harmony with the will of God; but the great moral change—their regeneration—preceded it while they were still unconscious." *

"3. Not only is the regeneration from earliest infancy of the children of believers *possible* and *credible*, but Scripture expressions encourage us to *expect* it.

"Thou art he that took me out of the womb, thou didst make me to hope when I was upon my mother's breasts. I

* "Moreover, infants who are to be saved, (and that some are saved at this age is certain,) must, without question, be previously regenerated by the Lord. For if they bring innate corruption with them from their mother's womb, they must be purified before they can be admitted into the kingdom of God, into which shall not enter anything that defileth.'—*Calvin. Institut. iv, xvi, 1.*"

was cast upon thee from the womb; thou art my God from my mother's belly.' *Psa. xxii, 9, 10.*

"'Thou art my trust from my youth. By thee have I been holden up from the womb.' *Psa. lxxi, 5, 6.*

"'And did not he make one? Yet had he the residue of the spirit. And wherefore one? That he might seek a godly seed.' *Mal. ii, 15.*

"'And ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath; but bring them up (*ἐκτρέφετε*) in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.' *Eph. vi, 4.*

"Of John it is said, 'He shall be filled with the Holy Ghost even from his mother's womb.' *Luke i, 15.* Of Jeremiah, 'Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee; and before thou camest forth out of the womb I sanctified thee, and I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations.' *Jer. i, 5.*

"4. *Facts in the Church* favor the belief that the children of believers are to be presumed regenerate till the contrary appears.

"*a.* Scripture examples. Samuel, (*1 Sam. i, 27, 28; ii, 11, 18, 26; iii, 1.*) Jeremiah, (*Jer. i, 5.*) John Baptist, (*Luke i, 15.*)

"*b.* Where parents pray in faith for the presence of the Holy Spirit upon their children, are watchful in Christian nurture, and look for the evidences of a spiritual change, ordinarily they are not disappointed.

"They do not indeed find their children free from temptation, folly, and sin, any more than they find the adult Christian perfectly sanctified; but they do *not* ordinarily find their children committed to the service of the devil. On the other hand, they find their earliest emotions drawn out toward God with sincere desire to do his will. There is no Christian who has not seen such instances and rejoiced in them. The reason, alas! that they are not more frequent is that very seldom do parents have such faith; and still more rarely do they train their offspring as young Christians within the Church of God.

"*c.* The great majority of those who confess Christ before men are children of Christian parents. So true is this that, notwithstanding the want of faith upon the part of parents and their neglect of true Christian nurture, there is little risk in saying that the spiritual condition at twenty years of age, of any given number of children of Christian parents, would compare

favorably with the condition, twenty years after baptism, of the same number of persons presumptively *converted* and baptized in adult years.

"5. All Churches that baptize infants do so upon the ground that they may be regenerated in infancy.

"This is, of course, true of those Churches (the Romish, Greek, Lutheran) that hold that the sacraments convey spiritual grace '*ex opere operato*;' but it is equally true of the different branches of the Reformed Church that most earnestly deny that any such efficacy is inherent in the sacrament itself.

"The Protestant Episcopal Church teaches (Art. 27) 'Baptism is not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, but is also a sign of regeneration or New Birth.' In the Baptismal Office the words are used, 'Seeing that this child is regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church.' This is often construed to mean more; it at least means as much as we have maintained.

"The Methodist Episcopal Church repeats essentially (Art. 17) the twenty-seventh Article of the Episcopal Church.

"The Rev. Mr. Hibbard, in a work that has the indorsement of the 'Methodist Book Concern,' says: 'In the following treatise, I have assumed that infants are in a regenerated state,' (p. 5;) and again, 'Infants are in a gracious state. . . . Baptism is an outward sign of an inward work of grace . . . a token of confirmation that the subject belongs to the spiritual family of God. All who belong to the spiritual family of God are entitled to baptism.'—P. 89.

"The Church of the United Brethren (Moravian) teaches in the 'Litany at Baptism of Children,' 'Baptism is the answer of a good conscience toward God, who hath saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which is shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Children, also, may be made partakers of this grace.' The Heidelberg Catechism teaches, (Quest. 74,) 'Are infants also to be baptized? Yes; for since they, as well as the adult, are included in the covenant and Church of God, and since redemption from sin by the blood of Christ and the Holy Ghost, the author of faith, is *promised to them no less than to the adult*; they must, therefore,' etc.

"The Dordrecht Confession of Faith teaches, (Art. 34,) 'And indeed Christ shed his blood no less for the washing of the children of the faithful than for the adult persons; and, therefore, they ought to receive the sign and sacrament of that which Christ hath done for them.'

"The Westminster Confession of Faith having explained (Chap. 28, Sec. i) that 'Baptism is a sacrament of the New Testament ordained by Jesus Christ, not only for the solemn admission of the party baptized into the visible Church, but also to be unto him a sign and a seal of the covenant of grace, of his engrafting into Christ, of *regeneration*, and of his giving up unto God through Jesus Christ, to walk in newness of life,' proceeds to say, (Sec. iv,) 'Not only those that do actually profess faith in and obedience unto Christ, but also the infants of one or both believing parents, are to be baptized.' (Sec. vi.) 'The efficacy of baptism is not tied to that moment of time wherein it is administered; yet, notwithstanding, by the right use of this ordinance the grace promised is not only offered, but really exhibited and conferred, by the Holy Ghost, to such (whether of age or infants) as that grace belongeth unto, according to the counsel of God's own will, in his appointed time.'"—Pp. 671-676.

In regard to Baptismal Regeneration, the Reviewer furnishes in a foot-note the following statements:

"Misunderstanding frequently arises from mere difference of definition. Many Anglican divines, in supposed conformity to the expressions of their standards, use the word *regeneration* as signifying solely the change that takes place in the condition of a person who, by the sacrament, is 'grafted into the good tree, born into the Church,' and who receives 'baptismal grace.' But they do not deny the possibility of a previous spiritual change wrought by the Holy Ghost and manifested by faith and repentance; only they do not call it *regeneration*.

"'Here again,' says the Bishop of Ely, 'misunderstanding results from difference of definition. The Church calls the grace of baptism by the name of regeneration, for reasons already specified; but she does not deny that God may work in the souls of men *previous to their baptism*; nay, she does not deny that there may be *true spiritual life* in them before baptism. But that spiritual life she does not call the new birth

till it is manifested *in the sacrament* of regeneration. We must remember that the terms *new birth* and *regeneration* are images borrowed from natural objects and applied to spiritual objects. In nature we believe life to exist in the infant before it is born—life, too, of the same kind as its life after birth. Nay, *if there be no life before it is born, there will be none after it is born.* So, the unbaptized may not be altogether destitute of spiritual life; yet the actual birth may be considered as taking place at baptism; when there is not only life, but life apparent, life proclaimed to the world; when the soul receives the seal of adoption, is counted in the family of God, and not only partakes of God's grace and mercy, but has a covenanted assurance and title to it.—*Browne's Exposition of Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 647.

"The late Rev. F. W. Robertson, of Brighton, says: 'In baptism . . . I was *made* a child of God.' Yes, coronation makes a sovereign; but, paradoxical as it may seem, it can only *make* one a sovereign who is a sovereign already. Similarly with baptism. Baptism makes a child of God in the sense in which coronation makes a king. And baptism naturally stands in Scripture for the title of regeneration and the moment of it.'—*Sermons. Second Series: Sermon iv.*

"In accordance with common usage, the word 'regeneration,' in this article, is used to designate the primal spiritual change from death unto life, whereby the subject becomes a new creature in Christ Jesus.

"'By a consent almost universal the word regeneration is now used to designate, not the whole work of sanctification, nor the first stages of that work comprehended in conversion, much less justification, or any mere external change of state, but the instantaneous change from spiritual death to spiritual life.'—*Hodge's Theol.*, vol. iii, p. 5."—P. 663.

Under these definitions the doctrine of "Baptismal Regeneration" ceases to be a bugbear.

We do not see how any fair exposition of our Seventeenth Article can be given which does not involve the doctrine of Infant Regeneration. We do see that under such exposition and doctrine the baptism of infants is a necessary conclusion. The Baptist theory is thereby scattered to the winds. A clear and beautiful light is thrown on childhood, and that cruel dogma

which assigns to our offspring the position of heathens, and neglects to bring them to holy baptism, stands corrected.

But do our Calvinistic brethren hold that *all* the elect are regenerated at birth? Is, then, regeneration never a sequent of the preached Gospel and conviction of sin? Is every sinner, antecedent to his conversion, and in the midst of his impenitence and gross sins, a regenerate person? We faint in the effort to unravel the tangled thread of that theology.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1873. (Boston).—1. The Progress from Brute to Man. 2. The Meaning and Causes of Value. 3. Universal Suffrage under Napoleon III. 4. Our Electoral Machinery. 5. Taine's Philosophy. 6. Charitable Sisterhoods.

It is a noteworthy fact that the two periodicals, quarterly and monthly, issuing from our national "Athens," and representing our highest "Athenian" culture, the "North American Review" and the "Atlantic Monthly," seem most fascinated with the theory that man is but a development from brute. In the first article, Mr. John Fiske, Lecturer on Comte's Philosophy in Harvard College, traces in conception "the progress from brute to man." Mr. Fiske, with another writer in this "Review," Mr. Henry Wright, whom we have formerly noticed, and Professor Youmans, appear to be the American representatives of Spencer, Darwin, Bain, etc.; perhaps inferior to their originals, yet ably contributing many furnishings and finishings to the theories of their English masters. In accordance with our usual course of frankly placing before our readers the most "advanced positions" of the new "science and philosophy," we shall try to give in their behalf the clearest possible hearing in brief space to Mr. Fiske's skillful showing how man grew from brute.

The article is a chapter from a volume about to appear from his pen, in which it is preceded by his proofs that this evolution of man from brute is a true fact. Of that series of proofs we have had a condensed report in the New York Tribune, and our great objection to the whole is that the great "fact" is entirely unsupported, if not refuted, by facts.

1. The difference between man and brute must be rightly estimated:

"When we take the refined and intellectual Teuton, with his one hundred and fourteen cubic inches of brain, and set

him alongside of the chimpanzee with his thirty-five cubic inches of brain, the difference seems so enormous as to be incompatible with any original kinship. But when we interpose the Australian, whose brain, measuring seventy cubic inches, comes considerably nearer to that of the chimpanzee than to that of the Teuton, the case is entirely altered, and we are no longer inclined to admit sweeping statements about the immeasurable superiority of man, which we may still admit, provided they are restricted to civilized man. If we examine the anatomical composition of these brains, the discovery that in structural complexity the Teutonic cerebrum surpasses the Australian even more than the latter surpasses that of the chimpanzee, serves to strengthen us in our position. And when we pass from facts of anatomy to facts of psychology, we obtain still further confirmation; for we find that the difference in structure is fully paralleled by the difference in functional manifestation. If the Englishman shows such wonderful command of relations of space, time, and number as to be able to tell us that to an observer stationed at Greenwich on the 7th of June, A.D. 2004, at precisely nine minutes and fifty-six seconds after five o'clock in the morning, Venus will begin to cross the sun's disk, the Australian, on the other hand, is able to count only up to five or six, and cannot tell us the number of fingers on his two hands, since so large a number as ten excites in him only an indefinite impression of plurality."—P. 253.

2. If we reply to this that nevertheless man is a *progressive* being and the brute *stationary*, we receive the following answer:

"In similar wise is made to disappear the sharp contrast between human and brute animals in capability of progress. Hardly any fact is more imposing to the imagination than the fact that each generation of men is perceptibly more enlightened than the preceding one, while each generation of brutes exactly resembles those which have come before it. But the contrast is obtained only by comparing the civilized European of to-day directly with the brute animals known to us through the short period of recorded human history. The capability of progress, however, is by no means shared alike by all races of men. Of the numerous races historically known to us, it

has been manifested in a marked degree only by two—the Aryan and Semitic. To a much less conspicuous extent it has been exhibited by the Chinese and Japanese, the Copts of Egypt, and a few of the highest American races. On the other hand, the small-brained races—the Australians and Papuans, the Hottentots, and the majority of tribes constituting the wide-spread Malay and American families—appear almost wholly incapable of progress, even under the guidance of higher races. The most that can be said for them is that they are somewhat more imitative and somewhat more teachable than any brute animals. In the presence of the Aryan, even under the most favorable circumstances, they tend to become extinguished, rather than to appropriate the results of a civilization which there is no reason to suppose they could ever have originated. The two great races of Middle Africa, the Negroes and Kaffirs, have shown, by their ability to endure slave labor, their superiority to those above mentioned; but their career, where it has not been interfered with by white men, has been but little less monotonous than the career of a brute species. Of all these barbarian races, we commonly say that they have no history; and by this we mean that throughout long ages they have made no appreciable progress. In a similar sense we should say of a race of monkeys or elephants, that it has no history.”—P. 255.

3. Early progress, also, is slow, and the advance, being in geometric ratio, becomes after long ages incalculably rapid:

“No previous century ever saw anything approaching to the increase in social complexity which has been wrought in America and Europe since 1789. In science and in the industrial arts the change has been greater than in the ten preceding centuries taken together. Contrast the seventeen centuries which it took to remodel the astronomy of Hipparchus with the forty years which it has taken to remodel the chemistry of Berzelius and the biology of Cuvier. Note how the law of gravitation was nearly a century in getting generally accepted by foreign astronomers, while within half a dozen years from its promulgation Darwinism became the accepted creed of the great majority of naturalists. How small the difference between the clumsy wagons of the Tudor period and the mail-coaches in which our grandfathers rode, compared to the dif-

ference between the mail-coach and the railway train! How enormous the revolution in philosophic thinking since the time of the *Encyclopédistes*, in comparison with the slow changes which occurred between the epoch of Aristotle and the epoch of Descartes! In morality, both individual and national, and in general humanity of disposition and refinement of manners, the increased rapidity of change has been no less marked."—P. 256.

This is in accordance with Spencer's great doctrine of Evolution. Starting from dead nebula, every cause produces many effects; and then each effect becomes a new cause producing its many effects. And so progress, for long ages very slow, becomes finally incalculably rapid. And, we may add, Mr. Spencer proceeds to show that multiplying causes finally come to checkmate each other, and produce universal dead-lock and death. In the final result the universe becomes an iceberg.

4. From all this it results that man's progress in later ages being geometrically rapid, after a point of manhood has been attained, his distance from the brute in the proper conditions becomes "practically infinite:" "The progress of mankind is like a geometrical progression. For a good while the repeated doubling produces quite unobtrusive results; but as we begin to reach the large numbers the increase suddenly becomes astonishing. Since the beginning of recorded history we have been moving among the large numbers, and each decade now witnesses a greater amount of psychical achievement than could have been witnessed in thousands of years among pre-glacial men."—P. 261. And hence Mr. Fiske indorses and appropriates the following statement of the Duke of Argyll: "We do right in setting a higher value in classification upon the eleven inches which intervene between the gorilla and the Hindu than upon the sixty-eight inches which intervene between the Hindu and the Englishman."—P. 279. The rapid improvement in man will not be in the medulla or cerebellum, but in the cerebrum: "The intellectual superiority of man over brute, and of the civilized man over the barbarian, essentially consists in a greater capacity for *mentally representing objects and relations remote from sense*. And we have insisted upon the point that in this capacity of representation the *difference between the highest and lowest specimens of normal*

humanity known to us far exceeds the difference between the lowest men and the highest apes. Now in closest connection with these conclusions stands the physical fact that the chief structural difference between man and ape, as also between civilized and uncivilized man, is the difference in size and complexity of *cerebrum*. The cerebrum is the organ especially set apart for the compounding and recompounding of impressions that are not immediately sensory. The business of *co-ordinating*, immediately, presentative impressions, is performed by the *medulla* and other subordinate centers. The cerebrum is especially the organ of that portion of psychical life which is entirely representative. Obviously, then, the progress to higher and higher representativeness ought to be accompanied by a well-marked growth of the cerebrum relatively to the other parts of the nervous system. Now, in the light of the present argument, how significant is the fact that the cranial capacity of the modern Englishman surpasses that of the aboriginal non-Aryan Hindu by a difference of sixty-eight cubic inches, while between this Hindu skull and the skull of the gorilla the difference in capacity is but eleven cubic inches! That is to say, the difference in volume of brain between the highest and the lowest men is at least six times as great as the difference between the lowest men and the highest apes."—P. 278.

5. What is the *humanity point*—the Rubicon over which progressing brute crosses into humanity? To answer this, Mr. Fiske appropriates the great discovery of Mr. Wallace. In brutes it is by bodily advantages that the fittest survives; in man it is by mental. Just as soon as the animal attains the point by which intellectual superiority is the advantage by which he conquers and survives, he becomes human! "In the case of sheep or bears, for instance, increased cold can only select for preservation the individuals most warmly coated; or if a race of lions, which has hitherto subsisted upon small and sluggish ruminants, until these have been nearly exterminated, is at last obliged to attack antelopes and buffaloes, natural selection can only preserve the swiftest and strongest or most ferocious lions. But when an animal has once appeared, endowed with sufficient intelligence to chip a stone tool and hurl a weapon, natural selection will take advantage of variations

in this intelligence, to the neglect of purely physical variations. Communities whose members are best able to meet by intelligent contrivances the changes in the environment will prevail over other communities, and will be less easily destroyed by physical catastrophes. Still more strikingly must this superior availability of variations in intelligence be exemplified when the intelligence has progressed so far as to sharpen spears, to use rude bows, to dig pitfalls, to cover the body with leaves or skins, and to strike fire by rubbing sticks, according to the Indian version of the myth of Prometheus."—P. 280.

6. Hence the *immensely greater superiority of man in mind rather than in body over brutes*: "We may now understand why man differs so little, in general physical structure and external appearance, from the chimpanzee and gorilla; while, with regard to the special point of cerebral structure and its correlative intelligence, he differs so vastly from these, his nearest living congeners, and the most sagacious of animals save himself. . . . It is a corollary from the foregoing considerations that no race of organisms can in future be produced through the agency of natural selection and direct adaptation which shall be zoologically distinct from, and superior to, the human race. As the same causes which physically modify lower species have, for countless ages, modified man directly and greatly in intelligence, and only indirectly and slightly in physical constitution, it follows that mankind is destined to advance during future ages in psychical attributes, but is likely to undergo only slight changes in outward appearance."—Pp. 281, 282.

7. It is in the department of ethics that our author thinks that evolution reveals its highest grandeur. As the animal has passed the mental Rubicon over into manhood, it is in intellect that his development most unfolds itself. Increasing intellectual acquirements lengthen the period of infancy; for the more the child has to learn in attaining the adult level, the longer he is a child. Lengthened childhood requires and produces the family, the kindred relations, and the clan. As soon as the group has learned to sacrifice self for the common good, the mere gregariousness of the animal has passed and the ethical feeling commences. When the social nature so grows that the instinct of right and wrong becomes immediate and predominant, man is truly a moral being: "Here we approach

the limits at which morality shades off into religion. For, as I shall hereafter show, Religion views the individual in his relations to the Infinite Power manifested in a universe of casually connected phenomena, as Morality views him in relation to his fellow-creatures. To violate the decrees of nature comes to be considered a sin, capable of awakening keen remorse; for to him whose mental habits have been nurtured by scientific studies, the principles of action prescribed by the need for harmonizing inner with outer relations are, in the truest sense, the decrees of God."—P. 314.

We, therefore, await the advent of the new religion to be dispensed to us in Mr. Fiske's forthcoming volume.

THE SOUTHERN REVIEW, October, 1873. (St. Louis.)—1. Philosophy *versus* Darwinism. 2. The Prospects of Protestantism. 3. La Grande Mademoiselle. 4. A Memorial of Gessner Harrison. 5. Annals of Loch Cé. 6. Corals and Coral Islands. 7. Causes and Consequences of the Sepoy Rebellion. 8. Sir William Hamilton on Perception. 9. Man's Place in the Universe.

In the April Southern Review Dr. Bledsoe firmly assured those who complained of the political character of his Quarterly that the question was closed: political the "Southern Review" should unchangeably be. In that same April our own Quarterly presented its trenchant exposure of the blatant inconsistency of a political Quarterly "under the auspices of" a non-political Church, and that Church pouring through that same Quarterly its volumes of reproach upon us as "*the political Church.*" The next (July) Southern Review came, strange to say, blank of politics; the October now comes equally pure! Next comes, in the "Nashville Advocate," an announcement that *the Southern Review is discontinued*, and that Dr. Bledsoe will publish, *pure from politics*, at Nashville, a Southern religious and literary Methodist Quarterly! A most mysterious and sudden change of base! To a Quarterly on the new base we cordially wish success.

Sequences are not always consequences; but, from our stand-point, it looks wonderfully as if our well-directed blows had first driven politics out of the "Southern Review," and then the Southern Review out of existence. At any rate, we rejoice that one of the most flagrant discrepancies of modern ecclesiastical history is ended. Irrevocable mischief has, indeed, been done. Under the indoctrinations of its leaders, through this Quarterly, the Church South is, no doubt, thor-

oughly and permanently impregnated with treasonable principles. It, no doubt, follows John C. Calhoun as unanimously in politics as it follows John Wesley in theology. And this is well illustrated by their St. Louis sheet, which who does not object to our calling Southern Methodists "rebels," but repudiates the epithet "traitors." And so, in their estimation, *rebellion is not treason*. But, if we rightly recollect, the Constitution does define treason to be the levying war against the national Government. And this is the very treasonable dogma we credit to them; the dogma, namely, that *they can take arms against the nation when they please without treason*.

These disloyal positions, however, are damaging to nobody but themselves. Southern rebellion, as an actual fact, is a thing of the past; and the principles that inspired it most Southerners will soon be glad to deny ever to have been their own. The political utterances of Dr. Bledsoe, and their consequent indorsements by the other Southern editors, are a sad mistake for their own future.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1873. (London.)—1. Romanism in England. 2. The Servant of the Lord in Isaiah. 3. Healing by Prayer. 4. Theological Seminaries in the United States and Divinity Halls in Scotland. 5. Sir James Simpson. 6. A New Analysis of "In Memoriam." 7. Creeds: Their Advantages and Defects, as illustrated by the History and Present Condition of Dissent. 8. Prison Life of the Countess Ulfeldt.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1873. (London.)—1. Archbishop Cranmer and the English Reformation. 2. The Rise of Monachism. 3. Moffat's Labors in South Africa. 4. Hazard's Santo Domingo. 5. Moral Philosophy. 6. Recent Studies in History. 7. Renan's Antichrist. 8. The Methodist Conference of 1873.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1873. (London.)—1. Richard Rothe. 2. Strikes. 3. Plymouth Brethrenism. 4. The Odyssey of Homer. 5. Sources of Pleasure in Landscape. 6. Herbert Spencer. 7. The Revolution in the Anglican Church.

Though the "British Quarterly" for October is rich in attractive topics, yet, for reasons soon to appear, we prefer to call attention to an article in the April number describing the first assemblage of the French Protestant Church, (by a permissive decree of President Thiers, influenced thereto, probably, by the counsels of Guizot,) after an interregnum of two hundred years. This was the organic descendant of the old Church of

the Huguenots; the Church of Calvinism and Martyrdom; the survivor of the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

But this memorable assembly found itself in a forlorn position of self-neutralization. There were three parties, powerfully pulling different ways, and threatening a consequent stand-still. There were the grand old evangelicals of the Monod school as the Right; the Deists, who believed in God, revered Jesus Christ, and held the Bible as a rich deposit of religious truths; and the Left Center, who believed in the supernatural, in a certain divinity of Christ, and in his resurrection, but denied trinity, expiation by blood, and eternal punishment. The debates, lasting a week, were characterized by high courtesy and striking eloquence. The whole discussion is full of lesson, furnishing some very ample admonitions to those who are fond of declaiming against *creeds*, as well as striking answers to those who object to the exclusiveness of the Evangelical Alliance. The grand lesson is, that *a creed as a basis of associate harmony, is absolutely necessary for the energetic action of any great Christian body.* Let a Church or an organization be made up of contradictory opinions, each checkmating the other, and for all aggressive action it is dead. Hence it was wise and necessary for the Evangelical Alliance, if it intended to produce any definite effect, to adopt a platform of principles.

The first question was, *Should they have a Confession?*

“M. Bois, Professor of Theology at Montauban, in laying on the table the proposed Confession, took the ground that ‘There could be no such thing as a Church without a common faith. One does not become a member of the Church by the mere accident of birth.’ He desired union, but union has its limits; the proposed declaration had been made as cautious as possible, but the Synod should not separate without confessing the Christian faith, all the more as the Church had been silent so long. And it is a declaration not of what the faith of the Church ought to be, but what it is; as the daily worship, ceremonies, and sacraments of their congregations testify. Yet it is a necessary declaration; there are now among us not two diverse tendencies, but two views absolutely opposed. We believe in revelation, but some wholly deny the supernatural.

We believe in a Divine Christ, the infallible Revealer of religious truth, dying for sin and rising again; they hold that Jesus, who died, and remains dead, like other men, was, while he lived, like other good men, fallible and sinful. M. Pecaut replied, pointing out that the real question was, 'Shall we *formulate* the faith of the Church, and so exclude those who do not share in it? What right have we to do so? We are not a Divine institute—this is not a council; we are a Protestant assembly, elected to defend the Church, and not to divide it. If it were a mere declaration, not to be imposed, it would be less objectionable; but the true *régime* for the Church is one of peace and freedom. The barrier you try to raise will be swept away, and your sons will use your diplomatic credo with mental reservations. The evils of the day are not to be sought in the superficial sphere of doctrine; they lie deeper, and demand moral renovation.'—P. 438.

We quote the following piquant passage: "M. Pernessin, a layman, characterized the members of the Left as neo-Christians and neo-Protestants, whose views confessedly agreed neither with those of the Apostles, nor with those of the Reformers, but who, nevertheless, were entitled to hold them. 'I recognize their right to found a new religion, and launch their bark upon the wave. But for us, we desire neither to be its passengers nor pilots, but shall remain with Jesus in the boat of the Apostles. We are not afraid of *des esprits délicats*; we fear God, and have no other fear. The hour is solemn; we know not if we shall see another Synod; but binding ourselves to Christ, let us say, *Te Jesu, morituri salutamus!*' M. Vigüié, on the Left, repeated that there were in the Church not two religions, but merely two tendencies, and vigorously denied the right of a majority to exclude one of them. 'You say you wish to leave us liberty after declaring the Church's faith. But it is only a liberty to depart, (*liberté de sortir*), and we refuse it.' M. Fontanès, later in the day, argued that religion meant the religious sentiment; and Christianity, that sentiment as determined by Jesus Christ. 'But we are asked, Of what Christ do you speak—of the Christ of the Bible? I answer, There are several Christs of the Bible, from the man approved by God in word and work, to the Word made flesh.' And as to the Resurrection, he proceeded, amid *exclamations*

et protestations bruyantes, to state that it meant, in the New Testament, the rising, not of the body, but of the soul, when liberated from the flesh, and that St. Paul never believed in the corporeal resurrection of Jesus. This was too much for one of the enrolled vice-members or *suppléants* of the Synod, who at this juncture cried out: '*M. Monod*.—Did Jesus Christ appear after his death? yes or no.' '*M. Fontanès*.—Fool! with what body did He come?'"—P. 441. This concluding response may warn some deniers of the literal resurrection of the body, who are obliged to vaporize the resurrection of Christ, on what a rationalistic brink they stand.

The following passage is also suggestive: "The objection was to dogmas, or confessions of fact. If, this year, it was said, you impose on electors an authoritative rule of faith, what is to prevent you adding, next year, an additional yoke of confession? It is a question, added M. E. Coquerel, of right. 'If you have the right to impose one dogma, you have the right to impose all.' This central argument was instantly met by M. Sohier by the unanswerable remark, 'Well, the existence of God is a dogma. Have you or have you not the right to demand of an elector if he believes in God?'"—P. 447.

The Synod adopted a very scant Confession. Feeling that their great difficulties arose from being stereotyped by a connection with the State, the Synod avowed unanimously a preference for disestablishment. That is, it was agreed that the Evangelical and Rationalistic sections could not work together, and had better separate.

The true theory was thus stated by Guizot: "What is a constituted religious society? It is one professing certain truths, certain beliefs. Well, I am a Christian; I know my creed. There are beside me men who do not believe in the Christian revelation, but who believe sincerely in God. Far be it from me to deny the religion of these men; let them form a Deist communion, and I shall be well pleased. But certainly the difference between them and Christians is vast."—P. 432. Evangelicals have a right to form an alliance or a Church; by so doing they do not unchristianize or unchurch others. Romanists, Rationalists, Deists, and Atheists have a parallel right to form a Church of their own, and none outside the given belief has any right to complain that he is not included.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews. Edited by Dr. Riehm and Dr. Kostlin. 1874. First Number.) *Essays*: 1. RIEHM, Reminiscences of Dr. Carl Bernhard Hundershagen. 2. BEYSCHLAG, The Epistle to James as a Historical Document of Primitive Christianity. *Thoughts and Remarks*: 1. MURALT, Documentary Contributions to Hebrew Paleography and to the History of Punctuation. 2. RIEHM, Remarks on the Preceding Article. *Reviews*: BAUMSTARK's Christian Apologetics, reviewed by W. BESSER.

Dr. Riehm, one of the present editors of the "*Studien*," gives, in this number, the promised biographical sketch of the late Dr. Hundershagen, who, after being for many years (since 1845) a contributor to the "*Studien*," became, in 1861, one of the assistant editors, and in 1864 one of the editors-in-chief. The "*Studien*" still maintain their long-established front rank among the literary periodicals of evangelical Protestantism; and the present editor bears a thankful testimony to the great merits of his predecessor. Hundershagen was born in the grand-duchy of Hesse on January 30, 1810; studied, from 1825 to 1830, theology and philology at the Universities of Giessen and Halle; became, in 1831, a lecturer on Church history and exegesis at Giessen; in 1834, extraordinary professor of theology at the University of Bern; in 1847, ordinary professor at Heidelberg; in 1867, ordinary professor at Bonn, where he died on June 2, 1872. The most important among his numerous works are: "German Protestantism: its Past and its Present Vital Questions," (1846; third edition, 1849;) "The Principle of the Free Investigation of the Scriptures in its Relation to the Symbolical Books and the Church," (1852;) "Contributions to a History of Church Constitution and of Church Policy," (1864; only the first volume of this work has been published;) and "The Way to Christ," (1853,) a collection of addresses delivered in behalf of the home missionary cause. He was also a frequent contributor to some of the leading periodicals of evangelical Protestantism.

The article of Professor Beyschlag reviews the recent German literature on the Epistle of James, and discusses the question of the authenticity, authorship, date of origin, readers, and doctrinal system of this biblical book. As regards the author of the epistle, Professor Beyschlag believes that it was written by James, the brother of the Lord, whom he distin-

guishes from the two apostles of the same name, and that it is probably the oldest book of the New Testament. He attaches to it an unparalleled interest for the history of the first years of the Christian Church, as, in his opinion, it clearly reflects the sentiments which prevailed in the most religious portion of the Jewish people, and in which Jesus himself and his brothers were reared. He finds some similarity between these sentiments and those of the Essenes—for instance, the enthusiastic eulogy of poverty and of silence, the prohibition of swearing—though he rejects the assumption of any direct connection between Jesus and the Essenes, and regards the latter as a morbid outgrowth of that portion of the Jewish people which was, as it were, the historical cradle of the Gospel.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Scientific Theology. Fourth Number. 1873.) 1. HILGENFELD, The First Epistle of Peter. 2. C. WITTICHEN, The Composition of the Gospel according to Luke. 3. SIEGFRIED, Philo and the Received Text of the Septuagint. 4. CALINICH, Can the Tenth Article of the Augustana (Confession of Augsburg) be Understood in the Sense of Transubstantiation? 5. SPONHOLZ, Ernst Theodor Johann Bouchner, A Biographical Sketch.

In the article on the First Epistle of Peter, Professor Hilgenfeld reviews the opinions of the exegetical writers of Germany on this biblical book. It is admitted that until Semler wrote the authenticity of the epistle was never doubted in the Christian Church. According to Semler, (*Euraphrasis in Epist. II. Petri, et Epist. Judae*, Halle, 1784,) Peter, having gradually become more friendly to the teachings of Paul, authorized some one to write, in his name, to the Churches in which Paul had labored, in order to prevail by his authority upon those still adhering to rigid Judaizing opinions to adopt a more liberal view of Christianity. Claudius (*Uransichten des Christenthums*, Altona, 1808) was the first to deny altogether the Petrine origin of the epistle, which he believed to have been written by a disciple of Paul. The introductory words, Peter the Apostle, he believed to be of later origin than the epistle itself. He was followed by Eichhorn, De Wette, and many others. The Tübingen school (C. F. Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, Volkmar) not only regarded the tendency of the epistle as Pauline, but believed that the author had designedly represented the epistle as proceeding from the apostle Peter, in order to secure, in this way, the ascendancy of the Pauline theology. Those who reject the authenticity of the epistle are,

however, by no means agreed as to the date of its origin. Some, like Ewald (*Sieben Sendschreiben des Neuen Bundes*, Göttingen, 1870) and Grimm, (in *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1872,) assume it to have been written during the Neronian persecution of Christianity; Baur and Schwegler refer it to the persecution under Trajan; while Volkmar and Holtzmann (*Kritik der Epheser und Kolosserbriefe*, 1872) contend that it was not written until about 140 A. D. Professor Hilgenfeld, in the present article, argues in favor of the persecution under Trajan as the time when the epistle appears to have been written. Prominent among the German theologians who, of late, have defended the authenticity of the first as well as the second epistle of Peter is Professor Weiss, (in a series of articles in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1865, 1866, and 1873.)

The second article, by C. Wittichen, author of a work in three volumes on "The Idea of the Kingdom of God," (*Die Idee des Reiches Gottes*), advances a new theory on the composition of the Gospel of Luke. The main points of this theory are: 1. Our present Gospel of Luke is a compilation from several works, which was made by two writers; 2. The former of them used the original Gospel of Mark as the basis of his work, and interwove with it matter from two other works, one of which was also used by Matthew; 3. The second writer revised this work, using the Gospel of Matthew in its original form, and adding the history of the childhood of Jesus, his genealogy, and other matter; 4. The second writer joined to the Gospel thus compiled a second work, for which he made use of a work of Luke on the missions of Paul, characterizing it by a new preface as a continuation of the Gospel. As regards the relation of this second writer to the theological parties of the primitive Church, Wittichen believes that he belonged to the Judaizing party in the Church of Rome, and that his chief object was to secure the ascendancy of the Petrine over the Pauline party, for which purpose he endeavored to mitigate the peculiar views of Paul.

For the strict Lutherans, both in Germany and in the United States, the unaltered Confession of Augsburg, of the year 1530, is a symbolical book, all the doctrines of which the members of the Church are bound to subscribe to. The charge

which has been brought by Liberal Lutherans against the Confession—that in its tenth article it professes the Roman Catholic doctrine of the transubstantiation—is, therefore, one of great dogmatical and historical interest. The chief recent writers on the subject are Dr. Calinich, of Hamburg, who insists that the charge is true, and Professor Zöckler, who, in the interest of the Confessional Lutherans, repels it. In the present number of the “Journal for Historical Theology,” Dr. Calinich replies at length to the arguments of Dr. Zöckler.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology. Edited by Dr. Kalmis. 1874. First Number.) 1. DR. HEPPE, The Life and the Work of Madame de la Motte-Guyon. 2. STARKE, Critical Examination of the Salac Conduct given and broken to John Huss. 3. RONNEKE, Original Documents of the Venetian Inquisition on the Trial, the Recantation, and the Death of Francesco Spiera. 4. FRANZ, A Letter of Anton Corvin to Philip Melancthon. 5. SEIDEMANN, Documents Relating to the History of the Reformation.

From the article on the pious Catholic mystic writer, Madame Guyon, whose name and writings are well known among American Protestants, we learn that in the Swiss Canton of Vaud the two Protestant clergymen, Ballif de Lucens and Jean Philippe Dutoit-Membrini, founded, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the sect of the *Théosophes Illuminés*, or *Ames Intérieurs*, in which the *Sainte Madame Guyon* was esteemed as the highest authority. This sect was only a branch of a larger religious communion, as Dutoit received his instructions, as *Directeurs des Ames Intérieures* of the Canton of Vaud, from the Count von Fleischbein, the grand master of the entire communion, who resided at Pymont, a well-known German watering-place in the principality of Waldeck. Dutoit, who died at Lausanne on January 31, 1793, anonymously published a “*Discours sur la vie et les écrits de Madame Guyon*,” in which he eulogized Madame de Guyon as a true saint, who had reached a state of perfect sinlessness here upon earth, and who, therefore, was next among all saints to the sinless mother of Jesus. Remnants of this sect, on which the government of Bern, in 1769, asked the opinion of the Academy of Lausanne, are found in the Canton of Vaud up to this day. See Chavannes, in the *Lausanne Journal, Chrétien Evangelique*, 1861.

French Reviews.

REVUE CHRETIENNE. (Christian Review.) August, 1873.—1. The Prison Question. 2. BRUSTON, The Deciphering of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. 3. E. DE PRESSENSE, Count Pelet de la Lozere.

September.—1. GRITILLAL, Metaphysical Analysis. 2. The Church Question in the Canton of Neuchatel. 3. BRUSTON, The Deciphering of the Cuneiform Inscriptions. 4. POZZY, On the Origin of Man, from a Paleontological Point of View.

October.—1. B. COUVE, On Social Progress. 2. SECRETAN, Review of the Work of Fouillet on Liberty and Determinism, (First Article.) 3. MOURON, Science and Christianity, with Special Reference to the Work of Louis Ruchet. 4. BONIFAS, Review of the Work of Jules Cambon de Lavalette: "La Chambre de l'Edit de Languedoc." (Paris, 1872.)

The three last numbers of the "Revue Chretienne," as the above table of contents indicates, are replete with essays on important and live questions. They are an indisputable proof of the literary eminence which evangelical Protestantism has attained in France. There is no longer any department of science and art, and of social life, in which it has not a number of able representatives. Several of the above articles are based on new Protestant books. The article on their form of prisons is inspired by a recent work (*La Question Penitentiare*, Paris, 1873) by E. Robin, the secretary of the "Société de Patronage des Prisonniers Libérés Protestants" of Paris. In the article on Count Pelet de la Lozère, Pressensé refers the reader to a recent work by Ernest Dhombres (*Le Comte Pelet de la Lozère Pensées Morales et Politiques, précédées d'une notice sur sa vie et ses œuvres*, Paris, 1873) on the eminent Protestant nobleman, Count Pelet, one of the most distinguished representatives of French Protestantism in modern times. The article on the Origin of Man is a chapter of a new work of Pozzi on the agreement of science and religion, entitled, "*La Terre et son histoire rapprochée du récit biblique de la Creation*," which, as Pressensé says in an introductory note, is the fruit of profound studies. The reviewer of the work of Fouillet on Liberty and Determinism calls it the "philosophical work which has at this moment produced the greatest sensation in France;" and he does not hesitate to say, if his judgment were asked as to how it compares with the new German work of E. von Hartmann on *Das Unbewusste*, (The Unconscious,) which is the most recent sensation in the philosophical circles of Germany, that "France

has run ahead of Germany in the province of speculative studies."

The monthly reviews of religious and political questions which Pressensé publishes in every number are always among the most readable and interesting articles of the "*Revue Chrétienne*." In the October number, Pressensé reproduces three letters which he had addressed to the "*Journal des Débats*," of Paris, on the Old Catholic Congress at Constance, where he, with Father Hyacinthe and Abbé Michaud, was the foremost representative of France. These letters certainly belong among the best that has been written on the subject. There was one incident in the proceedings of the Congress which profoundly mortified Pressensé and Father Hyacinthe, and even induced them to leave the hall. One of the political leaders of the Old Catholics of Bavaria, Dr. Völk, deputy of Augsburg in the German Reichstag, represented the Old Catholic movement as a conflict between Germany and Rome, in which the German empire represented the liberty of the soul and of conscience; and, after denouncing the acts of the Ultramontane party of France, made remarks on the late war between France and Germany which too deeply hurt the national feelings of the two distinguished Frenchmen to allow them to remain. The way in which Pressensé states his grievances is in full accordance with the high reputation which he enjoys among men of all parties. Even those whose conduct he blames will be the first to admire the words by which the censure is expressed. Pressensé, the most ardent European defender of the principle of separation between Church and State, warns the Old Catholics against too close an alliance with the secular governments of Germany; but, with this exception, he is an enthusiastic admirer of the movement, of the wisdom with which it has been conducted, and of its foremost leaders, Bishop Reinkens and Professor Schulte, the President of the three Old Catholic Congresses. He evidently entertains very great hopes as to its ultimate success. "I cannot close," he says at the end of the article, "without expressing the hope that this Catholicism, enlightened, liberal, and yet remaining profoundly Christian, may yet find its echo in France. There can be no doubt that it is the only means of bringing back to religion a number of spirits who

cannot accept it under the form of a gross superstition which is the sworn enemy of all liberty. They feel the need of a positive belief; they understand that the family, no more than society, can with impunity reject it. They find themselves in a terrible alternative when they are placed between the negation of all belief and a fanaticism which would be ridiculous if it were not fatal. A rational reformatory Catholicism would be for them a port of refuge. I know that all this appears supremely contemptible, not only to the Ultramontane clergy and its furious journalists, but also to those new Church fathers who throng in well-meaning *salons*. Because they have no intellectual wants themselves, they imagine that all the world must be satisfied with some mummeries, and that a belief in the Temporal Power is sufficient to feed the consciences and the hearts of all honest Frenchmen. They are more ignorant in religion than the lowliest of peasant women, or than that courtier of Louis XIV., of whom Sainte Simon speaks, who, on his death-bed, said, 'They claim that I feel repentance: I don't exactly know what that is.' They add to this ignorance a kind of religious illusion which makes them believe that they are the pillars of the altar. Thanks to God! the youth of France have other representatives. May it be well understood that they will be lost for religion if they are allowed to believe that it is incompatible with the progress of intelligence and the love of liberty. I could not help feeling sad at Constance when I thought that nothing is more remote from France than such an assembly of enlightened Christians, who know how to resist, through obedience to God, the encroachments of a false authority." The little progress which the Old Catholic movement has thus far made in France is a subject of general surprise. Although the Gallican views which formerly distinguished the Church of France have long been on the decline, it was well known that, up to the time when the Vatican Council proclaimed the Infallibility of the Pope, there were thousands of French priests who earnestly opposed the new doctrine, and declared that they would never submit. It is asserted that quite a number of them still adhere to this opinion, and only wait for a more favorable opportunity to avow their sentiments. Even a few of the bishops, it is believed, are not firm in their submission to the Vatican

Council. One of the great obstacles to Old Catholicism in France is the attitude of the Government and the courts, who assume that the bishops and priests who accept the Vatican Council are the only ones entitled to be recognized by the State as Catholics, and who, therefore, have punished the Old Catholic priests for continuing to wear the ecclesiastical dress. The Old Catholics, on the other hand, refuse to represent themselves to the law as a new sect, but claim to be still regarded as Catholics. The Liberal politicians of France, in general, show little interest in religious questions; but quite recently the causes which have been so well explained in the above article of Pressensé appear to have produced a change. At least, it is reported in the papers that, at a meeting of moderate republican deputies, it has been resolved to take an active interest in the reformatory movement of the Church.

ART. IX.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THE OLD CATHOLIC CHURCH.

ON September 12 and 13 the Old Catholics of Germany held their annual Congress at Constance. Although the Old Catholics have not increased in point of membership as rapidly as many of their leaders and patrons may have expected, the movement continues to enlist a more general interest than any other religious question of the age. A number of prominent men of other Churches and other countries attended, and expressed to the Congress the feelings of sympathy and esteem with which all religious parties watch the progress of the movement. At the preparatory meeting, held on September 11, speeches were made, among others, by Arch-priest Wassilier, in the name of the Russian Church; by Professor Holtzmann, in the name of the Protestanten-yerein; Bishop Doane, of Albany, in the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; Abbé Michaud, in the name of the Old Catholics of France; Augustin Keller, in the name of the Old Catholics of Switzerland; and, in conclusion, by Bishop Reinkens. At the first meeting of delegates, on September 12, Professor Schults, of Bonn, who so ably presided at the former Congresses, was again elected President; while Professor Cornelius, of Munich, and Augustin Keller, one of the most prominent statesmen of Switzerland, were elected Vice-Presidents. The Bishop of Lincoln, in England, had addressed a Latin salutatory poem to Professor Cornelius, which was read, as well as a sympathizing letter from the Greek Archbishop of Syra and Tenedos. In regard to a letter from Professor Schaff,

inviting the Congress to send delegates to the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York, it was resolved that Bishop Reinkens and the President of the Congress draw up a reply to the invitation. The most important work done by the delegates was the adoption of the synodal constitution of the Church, which, in many points, resembles that of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States. It was also resolved that the negotiations with the Anglican, Greek, and Protestant Churches for promoting the union of the entire Christian Church be continued by special committees. And it is noteworthy that while similar movements among the High Church Anglicans and the Oriental Churches have only the Churches believing in the apostolical succession of bishops in view, the Old Catholics expressly embrace within the scope of their endeavors all the Protestant Churches. The hope was expressed that the time would soon come when a truly Œcumenical council of the bishops of the entire Christian Church would be opposed to the Vatican Council, and the Anglican Bishop of Maryland expressed his hearty concurrence in this hope. As regards the present extent of the Catholic Church, Professor Schults stated that it had about fifty-five thousand enrolled members, mostly in Prussia, Bavaria, and Baden. The general meetings of the Congress were again largely attended, and, in the opinion of all who were present, the Congress was in every respect an eminent success. Since the adjournment of Congress, Bishop Reinkens has been recognized by the Governments of Prussia and Baden as a bishop of the Catholic Church, these Governments taking the ground that secular governments have neither the right nor the duty to meddle in internal questions of the Catholic Church; that they cannot, therefore, decide who is and who is not a member of the Catholic Church; and that, therefore, the fairest course for them to pursue is, for the present, to recognize both parties as belonging to the Catholic Church. In the meanwhile, in Prussia, the Roman Catholic Church, by open violation of the laws of the State, which supports her ministers and her institutions, has become involved in one of the severest conflicts which has ever been waged between Church and State, and which is likely to secure to the Old Catholics the entire patronage of the State.

In Switzerland, Old Catholicism is likewise gaining a firm footing in several cantons; and it even seems as though the conflicts between the cantonal governments and the Catholic hierarchy might, ere long, secure the ascendancy of Old Catholicism over Roman Catholicism in more than one canton. In Geneva, the new law regulating the affairs of the Catholic Church provides for the election of the parish priests by the members of the parish, in place of their former appointment by the bishop. As the Catholic party refused to recognize the validity of this law, and in the city of Geneva abstained from taking part in a new election, three Old Catholic pastors—among them Father Hyacinthe—have been elected. In the Canton of Berne, all the sixty-nine parish priests have been removed from their places, as they refused to submit to a law of the canton, and their places have been filled, or were soon to be filled, by

clergymen who may be expected to join the Old Catholic movement. In the Canton of Aargau, the large majority of the Catholic priests appear to be in sympathy with the movement, and are expected to join the Old Catholic movement as soon as a bishop shall have been elected. In the Catholic Canton of Solothurn, a considerable majority of the people and the cantonal council support the movement; and at the head of several of the largest Catholic congregations of the canton there are Old Catholic priests. The cantonal council of St. Gallen has forbidden the promulgation of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and strictly enforces the prohibition. The cities of Zurich and Basel have flourishing congregations. In Zurich, the parish Church now belongs to the Old Catholics. Only in the Cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, and Valais—the same which, about thirty years ago, formed the Sonderbund in defense of the Jesuits—the cantonal governments are endeavoring to prevent or suppress the Old Catholic movement. There is, however, an organized congregation in the city of Lucerne. At the Congress of Constance it was admitted by the representatives of the Swiss Old Catholics that the movement with them had thus far had more of a political than a religious character: the progress made is more with regard to the legislation of the liberal cantons than to the reorganization of the Church.

ANGLICAN CHURCH.

The statistics of the population connected with the Anglican Churches of the United Kingdom are only known as far as Ireland is concerned, for only in Ireland was the religious denomination of the inhabitants embraced in the official censuses taken in 1861 and 1871. The following table shows the population connected with the Church of Ireland at these two periods in the four provinces of Ireland:

Provinces.	1861.	1871.
Leinster.....	180,587	170,879
Munster.....	80,860	77,366
Ulster.....	391,315	398,705
Connaught.....	40,595	36,345
Total.....	693,357	683,295

The comparison of the two years shows that from 1861 to 1871 the population connected with the Church of Ireland decreased by 10,062, or 1.45 per cent. This is, on the whole, a favorable result, for in the same period the Roman Catholics decreased 8.06 per cent., and the Protestant Dissenters (embracing Presbyterians and other non-episcopal Protestants) 3.94 per cent.; but is easily explained from the fact that the "Church of Ireland" represents the richest element of the population, and, in particular, the large land owners, who, of course, will suffer less from the stream of emigration than the lower and less wealthy classes.

In England and Scotland the membership of the religious denominations did not constitute a part of the censuses of 1861 and 1871, and it can, therefore, be only estimated. A little work published on the sub-

ject, in 1870, by E. G. Ravenstein, ("Denominational Statistics of England and Wales," London, 1870,) deduces from the Registrar-General's Report of Marriages, which has been published annually since 1841, that in 1866 the Anglican Church numbered about 77.82 per cent. of the total population in England, and 2.18 per cent. in Scotland. Widely different from this estimate is that given in F. Martin's "Statesman's Year-book for 1873," (p. 207,) according to whom the population claiming membership with the Established Church of England and Wales was, in 1871, about 12,700,000, or only a little more than one half of the total population. Ravenstein is obviously anxious to make out as high a percentage as possible for the Established Church; and it is apparent that his deductions from marriage returns are liable to be called in question. In Schem's "American Ecclesiastical Year-book" for 1860 the Anglican population was estimated at from 65 to 70 per cent.; and as the estimates of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, by this work, which were based on the same deductions, were fully borne out by the official census of 1861, (the "Year-book" estimated the Roman Catholics in 1851 at between 4,500,000 and 5,000,000 in a total population of 6,574,278, while the official census of 1861 gives 4,505,265 Catholics in a total population of 5,798,967,) we believe them to be still nearest the truth. According to the last-mentioned estimate, the Anglican population in England and Wales would amount, in 1871, to about 16,000,000, a considerable portion of whom, however, sustain only a nominal connection with the Church.

While, however, a majority of the people of England and Wales are still nominally connected with the Established Church of England, the non-established Churches have by far outrun them in the number of places of public worship and of sittings. The following table, which was based on information carefully compiled by local enumerators, shows the proportion of the Anglican places of worship, with the number of sittings, to those of the non-established Churches in 1872 :

	Total Population.	Total Pl. Worship.	Total Sittings.	Established Church.	
				Places of Worship.	Sittings.
Fourteen towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants.....	2,905,400	1,760	1,087,859	540	444,926
Twenty towns with more than 50,000 and under 100,000 inhabitants.....	1,439,816	1,152	681,898	313	227,143
Thirty towns with more than 20,000 and under 50,000 inhabitants.....	1,055,507	1,155	531,543	410	231,626
Total.....	5,400,723	4,067	2,301,295	1,263	903,695

The population connected, in 1871, with the Anglican Church in the Australian colony of New South Wales was 159,958. The Church of England had, in all, 277 churches, with accommodation for 50,106 persons, and an average attendance of 36,495, exclusive of 12,356 persons who worship elsewhere than in churches. In Sydney and suburbs were 34 churches. The Free Church of England—a secession from the Church of England, using its ritual, but not recognizing its authority—has one

church, two ministers, an average regular attendance of 95, and accommodation for 640. In Victoria the Anglican population was 257,835. The Church of England had 200 churches, 99 school-houses, and 117 dwellings or public buildings used for public worship, with sittings for 57,768 persons, and an average attendance of 37,856. The Free Church of England had 5 churches, 3 school-houses, and 1 dwelling or public building used for public worship, with sittings for 1,280 persons, and an average attendance of 700.

ART. X.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

THE new book of David Friedrich Strauss, entitled *Der alte und Neue Glaube*, ("The Old and the New Faith,") has called forth a literary movement of almost unparalleled dimensions. Not only that all the literary journals of the country, and even the more prominent of the political papers, have brought long essays by scholars who have thoroughly studied the book and the subject, but a large number of special works by prominent scholars have already appeared, which keep up a general interest in the progress of the controversy. The well-known Protestant Church historian, Professor Nippold, has already published an interesting literary history of the controversy, (Dr. Fr. Strauss' *alter und neuer Glaube und seine literarischen Ergebnisse*, 1873. The work contains also a critical essay against Dr. Strauss by the Dutch theologian, Prof. Kauwenhoff, of the University of Leyden,) and Dr. Strauss himself has published a review and refutation of the more prominent among his opponents, (*Ein Nachwort als Vorwort zu den neuen Auflagen meiner Schrift: Der alte und der neue Glaube.*) It is almost unanimously admitted by the reviewers of Dr. Strauss that his work is written with consummate ability, and that in point of style it ranks among the master works of German literature. But as regards its contents the reception has been any thing but favorable. The radical attitude which he assumes with regard to both the Christian religion and philosophy meets, of course, the approval of the Darwinians of Germany, among whom, in particular, Prof. Häckel, of Jena, and Prof. Sëmper, of Wurzburg, have declared their entire agreement with Strauss. But the ultra-conservative political views which Strauss professes by the side of his religious radicalism have few friends among the Materialists, who almost without exception belong in politics to one of the extreme radical parties. With the exception of the Materialists, who, as has been shown on this occasion, are by no means as largely represented in the literary and political press of Germany as has been generally assumed, all parties emphatically scorn the assertion of Strauss, that Christianity has ceased to be the religion of the educated of our age. It is remarkable that a

number of writers who hold very liberal views with regard to theological doctrines, and who even admit their full sympathy with the standpoint which Strauss occupied in his work on the life of Jesus, are particularly emphatic in the defense of Christianity as the author of all our progress and civilization, and as the only religion for all time to come. Among the prominent philosophical writers of Germany who have written against Strauss are: Ulrici, (editor of the leading philosophical journal of Germany,) *Der Philosoph Strauss*; Jurgan Bona Meyer, (professor at the University of Bonn,) *Der alte und der neue Glaube. Betrachtungen über D. F. Strauss Bekenntniss* (1873); Frohschammer, (professor at the University of Munich,) *Das neue Wissen und der neue Glaube* (1873); Huber, (also professor at the University of Munich,) *Der alte und der neue Glaube, Ein Bekenntniss von D. F. Strauss kritisch gewürdigt*; Dr. Zizngiebl, *Der neue Glaube des D. F. Strauss, ein naturwissenschaftlicher Aberglaube*; Dr. Weiss, *Der alte und der neue Glaube. Ein Bekenntniss als Antwort auf D. F. Strauss*.

Two of the above-mentioned opponents of Strauss have also recently published new philosophical works, in which the ideas of a personal God, of the immortality of the soul, of the freedom of the will, are defended against the materialistic schools. Dr. Weiss has published the third volume of his *Anti-Materialismus*, (Berlin, 1873,) which is chiefly directed against the new atheistical philosophy of E. von Hartmann; while Ulrici has published the first volume of a comprehensive work on practical philosophy, entitled, "Outlines of Practical Philosophy; Natural Law, Ethics, and Aesthetics, (*Grundzüge der praktischen Philosophie*. Leipzig, 1873.)

A new work on the "Hermeneutics of the New Testament" (*Hermeneutik des N. T.*, Wittenberg, 1873) has been published by Prof. Immer, of the University of Bern. The author agrees, on the whole, with the theological views of the late Dr. Richard Rothe.

ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Validity of Anglican Ordinations and Anglican Claims to Apostolical Succession examined. By PETER RICHARD KENRICK, Archbishop of St. Louis. Second edition, revised and augmented, in which are inserted replies to "Essays on Anglican Ordinations," by a Layman; and "Anglican Ordinations Valid," by JOHN FULLER RUSSEL, B.C.L., Incumbent of St. James', Enfield. 8vo., pp. 342. Philadelphia: Eugene Cumiskey. 1848.

The work of Bishop Kenrick discussing the validity of the Anglican sacred "orders" and the consequent existence of a valid Anglican Church, which has lately fallen into our hands, is written with that great calmness and clearness of style, and that great force of trained logic, which very many of the high-bred Roman-

istic writers display. It seems to place the question of existence of a real ordained succession of bishops, presbyters, and deacons in the English Church, and consequently in the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, among the insoluble problems of history.

Bishop Kenrick's argument may be very imperfectly summarized in the following points: 1. At the first establishment of the Anglican system, under Edward VI. and Elizabeth, ordination was undervalued. Cranmer was not only a Low Presbyterian, but generally it was held that a king could make a bishop as he could make a general, by simple appointment, without any form of investiture. Hence, it does not follow because a man filled the office of a bishop that he is a formally consecrated bishop. 2. At the accession of Elizabeth, all the ordained Bishops of England, it is maintained, with the single exception of Kitchin, refused to take the oath of supremacy, and no one of them had any share in the consecration of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury under Elizabeth, through whom all the Anglican orders are derived. 3. During the life of Parker, the first Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, the fact of his being at all consecrated was denied and boldly challenged by Catholic writers, and their challenge was never met. The great Anglican champion, Jewell, was taunted by his opponent Harding with the bastardy of his orders and dodged the question. 4. No contemporary evidence fixing time and place and fact of Parker's consecration is offered. A royal commission for the purpose of consecrating him can be shown, appointing the time as the 19th of December, 1559; but an equally authentic royal mandate is also extant, showing that he was really Archbishop of Canterbury years before that, so that he must have been so without consecration. 5. The most fatal fact is this: Fifty years later, for the first time, a pretended record of the consecration was produced. It is a prolix and effeminate document, giving the most minute details of all the evolutions of the performance, just as a boarding-school girl would have written a description of a public pageant. The obvious impression is that of a romance with circumstances. 6. But over the doubt upon Parker's consecration is laid additionally a serious doubt of the consecration of his supposed consecrator, Barlow. The minute steps by which Barlow became bishop can be traced, but consecration, the main step, cannot be found. He is marked by numerous signs of spuriousness. Elizabeth was sorely put to it to find a true bishop to crown her; but though Barlow was genuine enough to consecrate an Archbishop,

he was not good enough to crown a queen. Documents are quoted in which he is expressly called bishop "elect"—that is, bishop unconsecrated—so that the fact of his consecration is held to be more than doubtful. 7. The "Nag's Head" story is, at least, worth telling. There was in London a clerical tavern where rural ministers were usually entertained, in which was probably a chapel room for sacred service, and which had the head of a "nag" on its sign. Now the story circulated by Romanists, from that day to this, is, that all the consecration Parker ever had was performed at this tavern. Bishop Bonner, being then, by order of Elizabeth, in prison, having heard of the intention to then and there consecrate Parker, sent his chaplain (an eminent scholar by the name of Neal) to witness the ceremony. Among these consecrators the only consecrated bishop was Kitchin, who alone of all the Catholic bishops had saved his miter by taking the oath of supremacy. Bonner sent by Neal a menace to Kitchin that if he took part in the consecration he should be excommunicated; and Kitchin took no share, leaving Parker destitute of canonical orders. The proof of this story is the statement of Neal, and a public statement of the fact in Parliament by the Bishop of Durham, in defense of Parker's canonicity. Years after, the Bishop of Durham denied that he ever made such a statement in Parliament; but Lord Audley, a member of the House of Lords, replied by public letter that he himself heard the statement made by the good bishop.

We are not deeply read in this controversy and pronounce no opinion. Judging by Bishop Kenrick's book alone, we should say that he made a very clear case, that Parker's consecration cannot be, as it ought to be, considered as satisfactorily proved. In our estimate it is not, ecclesiastically, a very important question. We hold the Anglican just as valid a Church with Parker unconsecrated as consecrated. Just so we hold our own to be just as valid a Church whether Wesley intended an Episcopate or not, or whether he had a right to ordain or not. The free consent of a great body of Christians, for a century continued, to be a Church, can make them a Church. But for the Anglican, who holds that a successional ordination is the test of a valid Church, the question of Parker's ordination is a vital point. *Upon that thread hangs the whole Anglican Church.* It is by this partition of very thin film that they are rescued from Romanism. We would not therefore pronounce upon it with flippant haste without fairly hearing all sides. We wish some one of our best ecclesiastical

scholars would furnish for our QUARTERLY an *impartial* summary of the whole discussion.

In particular, would we avoid that flippant recklessness of truth displayed by Episcopalian writers as a class in regard to Wesley's ordination of Coke. Thus, the "Church Journal" is quoted by the "Methodist" as saying: "Like most Methodists, Dr. Whedon has accepted the superstition of his denomination, that Mr. Wesley founded Methodist Episcopacy; he will be bewildered at the discovery that the said Episcopacy was founded in Baltimore." Now we do not object that the author of this helpless scribble is ignorant, as he profoundly is, of the truth in the case; but we do object that, knowing himself to be ignorant, he pretends to know. He appears to us just as respectable as we should appear to him were we to say: "Like most Episcopalians, the "Church Journal" has accepted the superstition of his denomination, that Parker was consecrated at Lambeth; he will be bewildered at the discovery that the said consecration was enacted at the "Nag's Head" tavern.

Commentary on the Old Testament. Vol. III.—Joshua to II. Samuel. Joshua, by D. STEELE, D.D.; Judges to II. Samuel, by Rev. M. S. TERRY, A.M. D. D. Whedon, LL.D., Editor. 12mo., pp. 558. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.

Though a THIRD volume, this is the FIRST of a series soon, we trust, to be completed, and destined to fill an important place in the literature of our Church. The reason why this volume appears earliest must be attributed to Mr. Terry's promptness and energy in prosecuting his work to a completion. He is a natural-born commentator; biblical study is to him a labor of love, and annotation on the holy text was, even before being invited to a share in this publication, the resource of his leisure hours, so that not a little was done before it was formally commenced. We trust this first volume is a favorable augury for the entire enterprise.

It is time, as all will acknowledge, for us, as a Church, to do something toward sustaining our ancestral reputation in biblical commentary. The mighty quartos and octavos of Clarke, Benson, Coke, and Watson stand upon our library shelves our honor and our reproach. To live reputationally upon the work of our Fathers is to die shamefully. To merely abridge and re-cook their works is a dwarfish process. If our Book Concern has any mission to fulfill, a large share of its mission must be to draw out the talent and scholarship of the Church into action and production. The attempt has been made, and we have a sanguine faith that it

will be a cheering success. A corps of scholars has for some time been at work in furnishing a complete exegetical work on the entire Old Testament, to match with the Commentary on the New, of which three volumes have been published. We have never published the programme entire because, as experience shows, we are very liable to disappointments and changes. We may say, however, that Genesis and Exodus have long been in preparation by Dr. Newhall, and, unless his personal health interferes, will, we trust, be in press during the ensuing summer. The remainder of the Pentateuch is in the hands of Drs. Newhall, Steele, and Lindsay.

Though a number of Commentaries have appeared since this work was projected, it still occupies, we think, an unoccupied space. It is not overwhelmed, like Lange's, with a vast mass of matter that is not commentary. The work should be commentary proper, and not homiletics. Though containing, from the closeness of its type, much more commentary matter than the Speaker's Commentary, it is in a more manual form. Though Clarke's has qualities which cannot be superseded, yet the immense mass of biblical science which has accumulated since his day demands that the whole ground should be gone over again, and be brought down to the latest dates. While avoiding occupying space with perfunctory moral inferences, it should be deeply imbued with the evangelical spirit. Though the product of thorough modern scholarship, it should avoid the ostentatious display of scholarship, and thus be suited alike to the minister and the intelligent layman. It should endeavor to say all that need be said to bring out the meaning, the truth, and the power of the Sacred Word in the most concise style, in order to bring the price of the volume to a moderate sum. All this is our aim, and we hope it can be accomplished.

The present volume will evince that our ranks can furnish the men amply competent for the work. Dr. Steele's abilities as a scholar and a writer are well known to the Church. His Joshua, had he been permitted to complete it, would have needed no supplement from another hand. Mr. Terry has thoroughly consulted the latest authorities, and given the results of close investigation of the original. He has been specially thorough in embodying the results of the latest geographical researches into his notes. His style is always clear, concise, and animate; touching the point pertinently, and in brief words. The plentiful cuts and maps, of a truly illustrative character, are a peculiar feature, which it is pur-

posed to make pervade the whole series. Whether for occasional reference or for consecutive study, we believe this volume will, on the books it annotates, hardly, on comparison, be found surpassed. And we sincerely hope that this and the following volumes will serve to quicken an interest in the earnest and devout study of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament. The proof-sheets were revised by Dr. Strong, of Drew Theological Seminary, and thanks were rendered him in the manuscript preface, but accidentally omitted in the print.

The Works of the Rev. John Newton. Containing an Authentic Narrative, etc., Letters on Religious Subjects, Cardephonia, Discourses Intended for the Pulpit, Sermons Preached in the Parish Church of Olney, A Review of Ecclesiastical History, Olney Hymns, Poems, Messiah, Occasional Sermons and Tracts. To which are prefixed Memoirs of his Life, etc. By REV. RICHARD CECIL, A.M. Two volumes in one. 8vo., pp. 966. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

The Whole Works of Robert Leighton, D.D., Archbishop of Glasgow. To which is prefixed A Life of the Author. By JOHN NORMAN PEARSON, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. With a Table of the Texts of Scripture, and an Index of the Subjects, compiled expressly for this edition. 8vo., pp. 800. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

These volumes embrace, in compact form, the entire works of two authors whose reputation has long been fixed as standard in the religious world. Both, clergymen of the Established Church, were evangelical in spirit and holy in life. Their preaching, lives, and writings have done much, and will do more, for the cause of a living Christianity in the world.

The Argument of the Book of Job Unfolded. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, D.D., Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. 12mo., pp. 367. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Though the work of an eminent scholar, this volume is not scholastic, but is addressed to the popular as well as the scholarly mind. Professor Green first ascertains what is the true structure of the Book of Job, and what the argument lying at its bottom, and then proceeds to bring the truths it unfolds to bear in practical power upon the heart and life. It is an able and eloquent production.

The Character of St. Paul. By J. S. HOWSON, D.D., Dean of Chester. 12mo., pp. 314. New York: Dodd & Mead.

We had credited Dean Howson with the possession of unsurpassed erudition in regard to the life of St. Paul; but we are surprised at the insight and subtlety here displayed in the analysis of his character. We know no work on the subject, among the many attempts, that surpasses this, either in intellectual or practical value.

Lectures on the Truth of the Christian Religion. Delivered before the Students of the University of Michigan on Sunday Afternoons. By Rev. B. F. COCKER, D.D., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy. 12mo., pp. 265. Detroit: J. M. Arnold & Co. 1873.

After one has gone over the ordinary books on Evidences of Christianity, Dr. Cocker's "University Lectures" will be read as a fresh and independent course of thought. Written in a liberal and candid spirit, by one fully understanding and sympathizing with the minds to which they were addressed, they were admirably calculated to win attention and convince the understanding. Their style is popular, divested of technical terms and stereotyped phraseologies, and even of those elaborate forms of statement which Dr. Cocker sometimes adopts.

The course of thought runs over the Old Testament line of history and literature, in a somewhat chronological order, until it arrives at and briefly touches upon the New. He adopts the "document theory" of Genesis, believing that Moses agglutinated together in chronological order the records found in the sacred line of Seth. In the chapter of Mosaic cosmogony he recognizes not science or history, but primeval sacred poetry. It is a "Hymn of the Creation," chanted for centuries in the tents of the patriarchal Church. He does not dread the discovery, if it shall ever take place, of a pre-Adamic humanity. The Adamic race may be simply the Caucasian race, latest created, progenitor to the Saviour, and itself intended, had it not fallen, to be savior to the other races, and, even since the fall, bound to be a savior through the Saviour. He argues the truth of the Old Testament history by various proofs, deduces the argument from prophecy, and brings the whole to bear upon the Gospel history.

The volume, very inartistically, has neither preface, analytical table of contents, nor running designation of topics. Only by reading the pages and paragraphs can you augur what the "University Lectures" discuss. It is attractively printed in small-lettered lines, and leaded, but needing a more accurate proof-reading.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Story of the Earth and Man. By J. W. DAWSON, LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Montreal; author of "Archæia," "Acadian Geology," etc. 12mo., pp. 403. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873.

Dr. Dawson's volume has proved an unwelcome surprise to the romancers in paleontology and "evolution." It has come like a

wet blanket over their rich and gushing enthusiasms, chilling their dreams of vast human epochs, abbreviating the longitude of their pedigrees and the grandeur of their ape paternity, and bringing them down to a prosaic descent from Adam, according to Genesis. "It is a shame to cramp my genius down to a mortar and pestle," said the ambitious young apothecary. It is an equally humiliating business in Dr. Dawson to cramp soaring scientific romance down to Moses and the Bible. The apothecary and the *savant* were born for larger destinies. But Dr. Dawson is somewhat peremptory; and, moreover, is not a man that can well be ignored. He is peremptory, for he has gone over the localities most boasted as proofs of geologic man, and promptly denies that they carry us beyond Adam. He is not to be sneered down, for, so far as discoveries in geologic antiquity are concerned, he is the most archaic man extant. He frankly reminds the romancers of this archaism: "The present writer may, however, be suspected of a tendency to extend forms of life backward in time, since it has fallen to his lot to be concerned in this process of stretching backward in several cases. He has named and described the oldest true oxygen, and the oldest known pine-tree. He was concerned in the discovery of the oldest known land snails, and found the oldest millipedes. He has just described the oldest bituminous bed composed of spore-cases, and he claims that his genus *Hylonomus* includes the oldest animals which have a fair claim to be considered reptiles. Still this discovery of old things comes rather of fortune and careful search than of a desire to innovate; and a distinction should be drawn between that kind of novelty which consists in the development of new truths, and that which consists in the invention of new fancies, or the revival of old ones. There is too much of this last at present; and it would be a more promising line of work for our younger naturalists if they would patiently and honestly question nature, instead of trying to extort astounding revelations by throwing her on the rack of their own imaginations."

As history is conveniently divided into *ancient*, *middle*, and *modern* ages, so paleontology may be roughly divided as consisting of *paleozoic*, *mesozoic*, and *neozoic*; that is, old-life, mid-life, and new-life ages.

The *Old-Life* age, beginning with the dawn of minute vitalities, covers the ascending stages of crustaceans, corals, molluscs, fishes, and amphibians. A humble, yet advancing, series of families!

The *Mid-Life* (mesozoic) ages unfold a scene of gigantic reptiles, with long sinuous bodies, and endowed, by the *savants*, with long, crawling names. These groups of vast living structures, with an under-brush of lower life beneath them, ruled our crude globe for an untold roll of middle ages. But this dispensation went down in night. Under stupendous revolutions nearly every form of its life perished, and the next draw of the curtain reveals a series of new creations.

The *New-Life* age comprises the reign of *mammals*, beings with *nursing milk*. An undertone of mammals had commenced with, and run through, the whole middle age. That undertone was prophetic; but who could have interpreted its beautiful prediction that the soft and milky breast should be the ruling trait of the new life? The earlier mammals of this age were as gigantic as the reptiles of the previous. Either from the marvelous intensity of the vital power, or the existence of unknown conditions, or the fiat of the Supreme, the living forms of brute life were of stupendous magnitude.

This age is divided into four periods, according to their share of the modern life-forms now existing: namely, the Eocene, or Dawning-modern; the Miocene, or Few-modern; the Pliocene, or More-modern; and the Post-pliocene, immediately preceding our entire modern. It was during the second of these periods, the Miocene, that the greatest abundance of gigantic quadrupeds roamed the earth. Dr. Dawson paints the Miocene age in vivid colors, believing that European geologists have not fully appreciated its glory. If man existed at this time, (as the Darwinians are vainly anxious to believe,) Dr. Dawson affirms that he ought to have been a giant in stature. But the glories of the Miocene went down under the wintry blasts of the *Glacial period*. An upheaval of the arctic regions poured the icebergs down upon the temperate zones, while a subsidence of land at our zones invited an arctic sea, for a period of unknown length, over the latitudes of our present civilized life. To the eye of a human spectator, our globe would then have appeared a scene of hopeless desolation. But it was the darkness before the dawn. This severe probation really rendered the earth more fit for man, and it was in the spring which emerged from this winter that man appeared. What was the date of that appearance?

Dr. Dawson's general answer is: "The time involved depends very much on the question whether we regard the post-glacial subsidence and re-elevation as somewhat sudden, or as occupying

long ages at the slow rate at which some parts of our continents are now rising or sinking."—Page 309. He holds this to have been a paroxysmal period, in which formations proceeded at a rapid rate for which the arithmetical calculation of modern geological progress furnish no analogy. He gives several instances in which the stupendous figures resulting from such calculations have been signally falsified. He denies, therefore, that there is any proof of the antiquity of man invalidating the narrative of the sacred text. Geology, indeed, reveals a great brief deluge, subsequent to the glacial era and to man's appearance, bearing a singular analogy to the Mosaic flood. The biblical narrative of the flood, with its precise dates and minute, formal details, reads wonderfully like the log-book of an adventurer in this geological deluge.

As a clear and popular statement from the hand of a master of the latest aspects of geology, Dr. Dawson's volume may be heartily commended to our readers. It cannot fail to give a sobering check to the unbridled reveries of one-sided men.

The Atmosphere. Translated from the French of Camille Flammarion. Edited by JAMES GLAISHER, F.R.S. With ten chromo-lithographs and eighty-six wood-cuts. 8vo., green and gilt, pp. 454. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

The works of Reclus, entitled "The Land" and "The Sea," published by the Harpers, together with this, form three magnificent volumes upon the science of the globe. They are written with a French vivacity and transparence. The present volume, from the nature of its subject, furnishes room for a profuse number of finely-colored engravings. Science is here made to wear its most attractive possible form. The three may serve for very handsome presentation volumes.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century. By JOHN TULLOCH, D. D., Principal of St. Mary's College in the University of St. Andrew's, one of Her Majesty's Chaplains for Scotland, Author of "Leaders of the Reformation" and "English Puritanism and its Leaders." 2 vols., 8vo. Vol. I, Liberal Churchmen, pp. 462. Vol. II, The Cambridge Platonists, pp. 500. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Armstrong. 1872.

In these two remarkable volumes Dr. Tulloch displays great critical thought, expressed in eloquent style, in bringing to view two phases of English ecclesiastical history hitherto much overlooked, but really invested with special interest. Two *groups*, rather than sects or schools, of Christian thinkers are presented: the

former springing from Oxford; the latter, a little later, from Cambridge. The former are Liberal Churchmen; the latter, rather of Puritan origin, yet mostly Churchmen, are usually styled "the Latitudinarian divines." It was the province of the former to maintain the idea of a comprehensive Church; of the latter to raise and expand Christian thought above and beyond the narrow type of prevalent Puritanic dogma.

Dr. Tulloch preludes his history with a review of the growth of earliest Protestant dogmatism. Early Protestantism was compelled to stereotype her creed in order to meet the positivism of Rome with a counter positivism. The Bible, as against the Pope, was the infallible standard of faith; but then it was the Bible as read and expounded by a man who could not read the Bible except in a translation—Augustine. The right of private judgment was asserted; but then private judgment was bound to judge that the established creed was right. It was the duty of the Church faithfully to maintain the creed, and of the magistrate firmly to sustain the Church; so that liberty of belief was as fast bound under Protestant as under Papal regimen. It required a new reformer to complete the Reformation. The initiator of that new reformation was James Arminius.

Calvinist as he is, so far as logical views are concerned, Dr. T. at this point gives the frankest and most eloquent credit to the great services of Hollandic Arminianism in originating and unfolding the modern doctrine of toleration anywhere to be found upon pages written by a non-Arminian. The Dutch Arminians defined the true province of creeds as simply forms of voluntary concord, and gave an impulse to independent biblical investigation. We should add, too, though Mr. Tulloch would not admit it, that they really found the most logically constructed mode of interpreting the Bible, so as to explain the sovereignty of God in accord with the freedom of man.

From the influence of Arminian thought and from their own reflections, the Oxford men formed their views of a free, comprehensive, Protestant English National Episcopal Church. The leader of this noble group was Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland, the most learned and accomplished layman of his age. Around him were grouped Hales of Eton, Chillingworth, Jeremy Taylor, and Stillingfleet. The prince of this group was Chillingworth.

Hales of Eton is memorable from the fact that he was present when a young man at the Synod of Dort, and wrote home his reports of that unfortunate body—unfortunate in having so truth

ful a reporter of its doings. He began his reports a strong adherent of the Calvinistic side, but before he got through he "bade good-night to John Calvin." Dr. T. adds, however, "he did not bid good-morning to Arminius." That is hardly correct. The term Arminianism, in its broad sense, covers the theological territory which lies between Augustinianism and Pelagianism. If Hales abandoned Calvinism and rejected Pelagianism, (as he certainly did in signing the Thirty-Nine Articles,) then he occupied, however vaguely, this intermediate ground. Call that intermediate what you please—Arminianism, Melancthonism, Liberal Evangelicism—Hales did, in bidding good-night to Calvinism, bid good-morning to this mild region. Dr. Tulloch himself loftily and truly proclaims that "The days of Augustinian predominance are forever ended." Augustinianism is now illustrating the last two lines of Bryant's stanza:

Truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
The eternal years of God are hers;
While Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
And dies among his worshipers.*

It is just as certain that the downfall of Calvinism is the ascendancy, not of Pelagianism, but of Arminianism more or less definite.

While the Oxford men were thus in accord with the Arminian liberalism, broadening the comprehension of the Church and calming the discord of Christian polemics, it was the mission, next,

* Yet how slender a "predominance" in the entire Christian Church Augustinianism ever has possessed is admirably and truly shown in the following statement, made by Dr. Summers, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in his Introduction to Brandt's Life of Arminius, of the grounds taken by Methodists in regard to Arminianism:

"In common with all who take the Arminian view of the Five Points, they contend that this is the catholic view: that it has always been held by the Eastern Church—that it was held universally in the Western Church, till the unhappy controversy took place between Pelagius and Augustin, when the latter in opposing one error went over to another; that the indorsers of Augustinianism were always a minority in the Western Church down to the time of the Reformation; that it never was cast into logical form until the time of Calvin; that although, through his influence, it was embodied with less or more distinctiveness in many of the Reformed Confessions, yet it was never able to displace the broad, generous, scriptural system which it sought to supplant; and that it has been so modified from time to time as that, in many cases, its avowed supporters can scarcely show any difference between it and that which they professedly oppose; while not a few, missing the *via media*, have gone over to semi-Pelagianism, or what has been significantly denominated New Divinity."

of the "Latitudinarians" of Cambridge to lift the Christian style of thought above the level of mere creed into the region of a Christian philosophy. The creeds were the formulation of Scripture interpretation on questions at issue between the Reformers and the Pope. The Latitudinarians, mostly Platonists, endeavored to show that Christian doctrines, freely interpreted, were at one with the highest and noblest range of human thought. The principal of this group were Whichcote, Cudworth, John Smith, and Henry More. With the writings of these men we have for years been familiar, and recognize in Dr. Tulloch's survey of them a work most admirably performed which it is strange was not performed long ago. Of this group the prince clearly is Cudworth. His works have been most republished and read, in our day, of all the four. His great work in refutation of Hobbes may be carefully turned over with advantage at the present day, as pertinent in the contests of the present hour. The writings of John Smith* were the first brave effort to show that the great points of the so-called "natural religion," as embraced in Christianity, such as God, immortality, spirituality, are far nobler, sublimer, more worthy to be believed, far more elevating and aggrandizing to the soul, than their opposites. This is true and obvious to the present hour. Materialism is ever and unchangeably conscious of a certain meanness in itself. Whether held by a Hobbes or a Huxley, it seeks to cover its shame with some disguise. The atheist feels a tremor in avowing himself. And so the necessitarians, such as Hobbes and Edwards and Hodge, patch up an effigy which they call *free-will*, and endeavor to cheat themselves with the palpable phantom. And so faith is aspiring and upward looking toward the sublimities, and the excellences, and the divine; while unfaith tends downward toward meanness and depravity and the devilish. It is boldly replied to this, at the present day, that the nobleness of a dogma is no valid proof of its truth. But a true theist refuses such a reply. If there be a kingdom of God, the development of our nature into the good, the true, and the divine, most accord with the divine wisdom and goodness, and whatever tends in that direction shall be true.

The Oxford men above named were the harbingers of a more decided Arminianism in the Church of England. Yet it is to be noted that the true honor due to Arminius personally was withheld from his name. Dr. Tulloch quotes, as indicative of great magnanimity, the words of the accomplished Sir Henry Wotton:

* Wesley introduced John Smith, of Cambridge, into his "Christian Library."

"In my travel toward Venice, as I passed through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius—then the professor of divinity in that university—a man much talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy. And, indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions—as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do—then I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be that he was a man of most rare learning, and I know him to be of a most strict life and of a most meek spirit."—Vol. i, p. 200. Wesley, in his tract, "What is an Arminian?" says: "To say 'This man is an Arminian,' has the same effect on many hearers as to say 'This is a mad dog.' It puts them into a fright at once: they run away from him with all speed and diligence, and will hardly stop, unless it be to throw a stone at the dreadful and mischievous animal."—*Works*, vol. vi, p. 133. Our New England Calvinistic pulpit used to belabor "Arminianism" by name with as much vigor as it did Deism, until heroic Moses Stuart, in the "Biblical Repository," with great independence and learning, revealed, to its astonishment, that "Arminius was not an Arminian;," that is, he held no such Arminianism as its ecclesiastical drumstick had for two centuries been beating. Nor is there wanting, even now, a degree of magnanimity in the full and generous justice rendered by Dr. Tulloch to the character of one of the noblest personages of modern Church history.

At Oxford, where the semi-Arminianism of these "liberal" Oxford men became intensified and definite in conjunction with High Churchism, Wesley appears, at a later period, as their lineal heir. He breathed the hereditary spirit of the place, and Jeremy Taylor furnished him his horn-book in spiritual discipline. But as their thoughts and writings dwell solely in the regions of high speculation, it was his mission to go out from the academic sphere and carry the power of these principles, touched with a new life, to the lower strata of society, and quicken the popular heart of England and America with a new reformation, or, rather, with a completion of the old reformation. It is to this point we wish most emphatically to call the attention and interest of our thoughtful Methodist readers. We have long known that these Oxford men and this "splendid Latitudinarian school of divines" (as the celebrated Catholic lawyer, Charles Butler, styles them in his "Reminiscences") were in no small degree our spiritual ancestry. The students in a theological literature suited to our Church will find no field more rich, outside the Bible and our own imme-

diate theology, than that opened to view by Dr. Tulloch, and the history and productions of the great Arminians of Holland. For this, and for many other reasons, while sometimes strongly demurring to the over-broadness of his Broad Churchism, we tender, at the close of these volumes, our most hearty thanks to Dr. Tulloch.

The Oxford Methodists: Memoirs of the Rev. Messrs. Clayton, Ingham, Gambold, Hervey, and Broughton, with Biographical Notices of others. By Rev. L. TYERMAN, author of "The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley." Svo., pp. 41. Harper & Brothers. 1873.

With modesty and candor Mr. Tyerman says in his preface: "The book is not a series of written portraits. I make no pretensions to artistic skill. I have simply done my best in collecting facts from every source within my reach, and have narrated them as truly and lucidly as I could." We deem it unfortunate that the faithfulness in gathering facts and the skill in handling them do not meet in the same man. Mr. Tyerman has accumulated a mass of "raw material" for history, leaving it almost as raw as he finds it. Yet great thanks are due him for what he has done. He has shed a clear, broad light upon the life of Wesley, and especially, in the present volume, upon the first beginnings of the Oxford movement. He has given body and life to what were heretofore almost mere *names* in the Wesleyan history. Clayton, and Broughton, and Ingham, and Gambold, if not symmetrical characters, are live men. And we trace the misty progress of those *origines*, out from which the figures of the Wesleys and Whitefield emerge with such startling life. As an accompaniment to the life of Wesley this volume is invaluable in Methodistic history.

It is now about one hundred and forty-four years (in 1727) since four young Oxonians, the two Wesleys and Broughton and Kirkham, met to read the Greek Testament with devout purpose. In 1735 Wesley counted his company as "fourteen or fifteen in number, all of one heart and mind." Great were their subsequent divergences both of doctrine and history. Estrangements, and even hostilities, between each other mark the subsequent narrative. But, in some form or other, nearly every one retained an earnest Christian character to the end of his career.

The points upon which they doctrinally diverged were either matters of churchmanship or soteriology. They all began strict churchmen, and the influence of Clayton infused a large share of ritualism into the Wesleys. And Clayton persevered, a high ritualist, a "Puseyite" before Pusey, unto the end; haughtily refusing

to notice the Wesleys after their fall from high-churchianity, and ready to accept the popish descendant of the Stuarts as his *jure divino* sovereign. Yet who can withhold admiration from his stern, consistent, lofty conscientiousness of life? If severe to others, he was severe to himself, and his rebuke of sin was sharpened by his deep sense of responsibility to God as a minister of Christ. We are unable to say that he had not true justifying faith in Christ. No more do we believe this of Wesley while in his ritualistic era. They did not indeed realize the emphatic place of *faith* in the Christian life. They had not performed that conscious act of entire self-commitment to Christ by which the vivid *evidence* is attained, and the rich communion with Christ, and with God through Christ, is established, so that the soul springs forward with new life and glad obedience in the way of active duty. And hence when Wesley came to that turning-point of self-surrender, he felt his heart "*strangely warmed*;" *strangely*, because in all his ritualistic days he had never felt that warmth. He had long served God by severe self-subduing rule; henceforth he serves him with an abounding will and joy. Yet he had served God—served God trusting in Christ, yet trusting in Christ so distantly that he never came within speaking, loving distance of the lover of his soul. The change was so great that Wesley for a long time believed that it was a change from death to life, a first attainment of justification.

But as it was the doctrine of justification by faith that separated Wesley from the high-churchman, so it was the overstatement of that doctrine which repelled him from Hervey, Whitefield and the Moravians, Ingham, and Gambold. As a student of the early Fathers, by whom predestination was repudiated as a gnostic heresy, and from his kinship with Jeremy Taylor and the other great Arminian and semi-Arminian divines, whom Dr. Tulloch has so eloquently described, Wesley could never believe that faith was other than the free act of the creature, enabled but not infallibly secured, either by the atonement of Christ or the power of God. Hence when Whitefield diverged into the heresy of predestination, he smote the blasphemous dogma with lightning strokes. When Hervey taught the crude dogma that the merit of Christ's holy actions through his whole life was imputed to a certain selected set of mankind, Wesley dealt upon the infantile theology of that gentle-spirited writer a very few, but very decisive, touches of his terse pen. Ingham retired to Yorkshire, married a lady of quality, and raised a flourishing circle of country churches of which he was

installed bishop. Over that blooming garden of spiritual life came the "northern blast of Sandemanianism," the doctrine that carries Calvinism to its consistent figure, and teaches that the elect is saved with no act of his own, but by the divine force carrying him panoramically through the motions and movements by which he is wheeled into heaven. Under this blast Ingham's Yorkshire diocese wilted. Wesleyan Methodism overspread the shire, leaving, to this day, a few shattered remnants of the once flourishing field of Ingham's evangelic labors.

We thus by comparison see what was the secret of the success of the Wesleyan movement. Rejecting the cumbrous rigidity of high-churchmanship on the one hand, and the ultraistic extreme of the doctrine of justification by faith on the other, Wesley retained an energetic Church polity and a true doctrine of salvation through Christ. To these he added the intensifying doctrines of the conscious witness of the Spirit and entire sanctification, and insisted on their actual realization in experimental life. His entire system of polity, of doctrine, and of life, thereby strangely presaged and harmonized with modern freedom and activity. It was an anticipation of our age. It was the morning-break, in the religious world, of the modern life.

Recollections of My Own Life and Times. By THOMAS JACKSON. Edited by the Rev. B. FRANKLAND, B.A. With an Introduction and a Postscript by G. OSBORN, D.D. 12mo., pp. —. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1873.

Recollections of Thomas Jackson and his Acts. By SAMUEL DUNN. 12mo., pp. 32. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co.

Mr. Jackson was born in 1783, and died in 1873, in the ninetieth year of his age. So beautiful an evening of life is rare in all our Christian ages. The frontispiece, being an engraved likeness, presents to the eye a face and form of remarkable attractiveness. His intellect was clear, but not brilliant; his reading extensive, especially in old English divinity; his talent was productive, but not eminently original. His piety was a striking trait of his character. Dr. Osborn records his "avowal at one Conference that since he first obtained the favor and peace of God he had not lost it for a single day. No wonder that at times his joys were ecstatic!" He was called by the Church to fill the pulpit on great occasions. He was twice President of the Conference. He was nineteen years connectional editor, and for eighteen years theological professor. He was author of standard biographies of Charles Wesley, John Wesley, and of Richard Watson; but his life of the illustrious Arminian Puritan, John Goodwin, is

his most remarkable work. It is no wonder that as pulpit orator, Christian statesman, ready writer, conservative theologian, and devoted Christian, his brethren lavished their highest honors upon him living, and upon his memory after his ascension.

The biography is eminently interesting to all who are interested in Methodist history. It is written in the author's pure and manly English style, and marked by modesty of temper. We could wish that the editors had interspersed through the book such statements in regard to him as no man can well make regarding himself.

The pamphlet of Mr. Dunn, which we have received from his special hand, takes issue with Mr. Jackson's chapter which narrates the expulsion of the supposed authors of the "Fly Sheets." Our slight acquaintance with Mr. Dunn while in this country identified him as a genial Christian gentleman and a true Methodist preacher. The events to which his pamphlet refers were never to us a sufficiently attractive subject to bring us to the formation of an opinion. We, in America, are ready to import the talents, the piety, and the intellectual productions of our English and Canadian brethren, but not their quarrels. We generally find enough in each side to love, without hating the other side. Nor can we obtain from the compared narratives of both Jackson and Dunn a sufficiently clear view of all the facts to pronounce upon the whole a responsible conclusion.

The Land of Moab. Travels and Discoveries on the East Side of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. By H. H. TRISTAM, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Honorary Canon of Durham. With a Chapter on the Persian Palace of Mashita. By JAMES FERGUSON, F.R.S. With Map and Illustrations by C. L. Buxton and H. C. Johnson. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1873.

The learned and veteran Palestinian traveler, Dr. Tristam, has bravely ranged over the wild and weird region of Moab, through scenes but slightly visited since the days of the Roman empire. Starting from Jerusalem southward, he passed around the southern end of the Dead Sea, and decides, on comparison of this region with the northern end, that Usdum is not Sodom, and that the cities of the plain destroyed by the fiery shower were not at the southern, but at the northern, extremity of the sea. Thence pursuing his northern course east of the sea, he visits the ancient fortress of Kerak, the Kir-Moab, or Fortress of Moab, of the prophet Isaiah. A great Roman road from south to north, parallel with the Dead Sea, cuts the region into two almost equal parts. By this he traveled northward to Ar, or Rabbath-Moab, the Areopo-

lis of the Greeks. He crosses the Arnon, and at Machærus identifies the dungeons in which it may safely be believed that John the Baptist was imprisoned. He visits the warm baths of Herod on the river Callirhoë. At Mashita he discovers the remains of a magnificent temple, which is identified by Ferguson, the distinguished historian of architecture, as built by Chosroes, king of Persia. Approaching the northern end of the Dead Sea, he climbs where Moses stood on Mount Nebo, and, though the atmosphere was, to his great grief, unfavorable, he descends Carmel from Pisgah. Here, also, he recognizes, with great confidence, in the Jordan valley, the large and fertile plain which attracted Lot; in Ziara he finds Zoar, and in the heights back—that is, east—from Zoar he recognizes the mountains in which Lot took refuge, and in whose cavern Moab was born. Crossing the *ford*, now a ferry, of the Jordan, he returns, through Jericho and Bethany, to Jerusalem, whence, about two months before, he had started.

Though a Church dignitary, Dr. Tristram displays much pluck in “roughing it” through the wild scenes he describes, a Yankee sharpness in dealing with the rascalities of natives, and a fine talent at description and humorous narration. The engravings are excellent, the fresh map of Moab is an accession to biblical geography, and the whole book is a rich treat to the biblical scholar.

Literature and Fiction.

Songs of the Soul. Gathered out of Many Lands and Ages. By SAMUEL IRENEUS PRIME, author of “The Alhambra and the Kremlin,” “The Power of Prayer,” etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 661. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1874.

Songs of the morning and of the evening; songs of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; songs of the holy seasons, as Advent, Christmas, Easter; songs of the cross; songs of the Christian emotions and graces—form the wide range of this book. They are brought from Latin, Greek, German, Spanish, and English sources. The book is a type of the day when there shall “one song engage all nations.”

Foreign-Theological Publications.

Sieben Vorträge, etc. Seven Lectures on the Second Article of the Christian Faith. Hanover. 1872.

This is the second installment of a series of popular apologetical essays read by eminent Lutherans in an Evangelical Union at Hanover. The theme of the essays is the Apostles' Creed. The

first series of six treated of God; the third will treat of the Holy Ghost, the Church, and the Communion of Saints. The second treats of the Son. The subjects are, in order: The Fullness of Time, by Superintendent Rocholl; Christ the God-man, by Pastor Büttner; Jesus Christ in his Humiliation, by Upper Consistorial Counselor, Dr. Uhlhorn; Jesus Christ in his Exaltation, by the same; Christ's Prophetic Office, by Pastor Dr. Ziel; Christ's High-priestly Office, by Pastor Danckwerts; Christ's Kingly Office, by Pastor Meyer. In style, these lectures are lucid and direct; in stand-point, conservative-orthodox. The ablest are those of Büttner and Uhlhorn. Some of the positions taken would not find general Protestant acceptance. Büttner, in speaking of the Incarnation, says: "The eternal God subjects himself to the laws of time; the Omniscient, to the order of progressive growth; the unsuffering One, to the outer and inner afflictions of fallen humanity. It is not merely the human *boy* who increased in wisdom and stature; no, it was the God-man. It is not merely the man who sighs, trembles, quakes, weeps, and dies. It would be a gnostic error to hold that the man Jesus died on the cross, while the divine nature remained impassive." On the subject of the atonement, Pastor Danckwerts uses very extreme words. Apropos to Christ's exclamation on the cross, "My God, why hast thou forsaken me?" he says: "At this point the entire guilt of humanity rested upon his holy soul, and the Father withdraws from him the comfort of his presence and the feeling of his love, and gives him over into the pains of eternal death. He stands as our representative in the judgment of God, and suffers the wrath of God against sinful humanity, and from the infinite depth of this suffering resounds his wailful cry." In speaking of that difficult subject, the ascension of Christ, Dr. Uhlhorn says: "The Copernican system has nothing whatever to do with the ascension, for it relates merely to the space-relations of the visible world; whereas the ascension of Christ is not a change in place or through space, but a change in state—the transition of the Lord into his supernatural glory. Also his 'sitting at the right hand of the Father' is not to be conceived specially. This would be a very childish view. Christ is not here nor there, bound to a particular spot or space. The right hand of God is every-where, and so is Christ; and that, too, not merely as to his divinity, but also as to his humanity. The divinity is never to be thought of as apart from the humanity, nor the humanity as apart from the divinity. This holds of the body also: the transfigured body of Christ is

also omnipresent." It is needless to add that these views are intimately related to the Lutheran view of the real presence in the eucharist. Dr. Uhlhorn holds that the essence of the ascension was Christ's withdrawal from under the laws of time and space. The visible ascension was merely a phenomenon to impress this withdrawal upon the minds of the disciples. Christ did not have to pass through space in order to be in heaven or at the right hand of God. Bating their few eccentricities, these lectures are worthy of general circulation.

Friedrich von Hardenberg : eine Nachlese aus den Quellen des Familienarchivs, herausgegeben von einem Mitglied der Familie. (An After-gleaning from the Writings and Life of Novalis.) Gotha: F. A. Perthes.

Novalis (Von Hardenberg) is one of the loveliest figures of all history. He belongs no less to humanity's head than to its heart. Combine into a rounded whole the speculative idealism of Shelley, the weird romanticism of Chatterton, and the ardent piety of Kirk White, and you have an approach toward Novalis. But death cut him down in his early dawn—in 1801, at the age of twenty-eight. Ever since then he has been counted as the mildest, gentlest, purest, and fairest star of the German romantic school. Tieck edited his works and sketched his life soon after his demise. But three quarters of a century's search and criticism have discovered many complementing and correcting traits for the general portrait, and brought to light a quantity of valuable letters and fragments. A near relative now edits these into a new work on Novalis, on occasion of the centenary of his birth. The general results are: Novalis was not so near Roman Catholicism as Tieck and Schlegel have represented him. His so-called Mariolatric hymns were not the free expression of his personal religion, but were written as integral parts of his uncompleted medieval romance, "Heinrich von Ofterdingen." His heart ever remained true to his Moravian training, though his theology assumed a less fettered form, somewhat in the (subsequent) manner of Schleiermacher. The suspicion that he was Catholic-minded could only have arisen through forgetfulness of the fact that, at the serene elevation at which Novalis habitually dwelt, the little geometric fences which cut up the great field of Christianity into petty angular sectarian garden-spots were almost invisible. To very many this *Nachlese* will prove very welcome, especially to all who love to see in the Christian life a vital synthesis of ethics and esthetics.

Der Wunderbegriff des Neuen Testaments: eine historisch-dogmatische Untersuchung.
(The New Testament Idea of Miracles Historico-dogmatically Examined.)
Von Dr. WILHELM BENDER. Frankfurt-am-Main: Heyder und Zimmer.

A learned and interesting essay in answer of the three questions: What idea the authors of the New Testament formed of the miracles they relate; The importance they attached to miracles; and the significance of their view for modern theology. The author's conclusions are: Miracles spring of a relatively new outpouring of the same Divine Spirit which upholds and animates creation as a whole. They are but the climax points at which the power of God enters more fully into the current of world-history. They are conditional on the receptive spontaneity of those who work them. Though the ultimate cause of miracles is the all-pervading might of God, yet the creatural workers of miracles participate in the miracle by virtue of being really gifted with the Divine Spirit, as also through the efficacy of God-determining prayer. As miracles have the same cause as all other phenomena, hence they are, strictly speaking, not supernatural, but simply natural. In fact, the terms supernatural and natural have not a real, but only a relative, difference, all natural as well as supernatural events springing ultimately from the same might of the infinite personal volitional God. The difference between a miracle and a so-called natural event lies in its suddenness and immediateness. The worth of miracles lies chiefly in their force as evidence. Their purpose was the promotion of salvation. The recorded miracles are a rich source for determining the relation of the God of nature to the God of grace.

In style Dr. Bender is clumsy and heavy, but his work is replete with helpful suggestions.

Miscellaneous.

Expository Thoughts on the Gospels. For Family and Private Use. With the Text Complete. By Rev. J. C. RYLE, M.A., Vicar of Stradbroke, Honorary Canon of Norwich, and Rural Dean of Horne, Suffolk. St. John. Volume III. 18mo., pp. 478. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

Mementos of Rev. Edward Payson, D.D., embracing a Sketch of his Life and Character and Selections from his Works. By Rev. EDWIN L. JAMES, author of "Wesley his own Historian," and "Character and Career of Francis Asbury." With an Introduction by W. B. SPRAGUE, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 351. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.

Hints and Helps in Pastoral Theology. By WILLIAM S. PLUMER, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 381. New York: Harper & Bros. 1873.

Jesus: A Portrait. By Rev. JOSEPH BARKER. 12mo., pp. 264. Philadelphia: Methodist Episcopal Book Room, J. B. McCullough, Agent. 1874.

Leaves from the Tree of Life. By Rev. RICHARD NEWTON, D.D., author of "Bible Wonders." 18mo., pp. 320. New York: Robert Carter & Bros.

- Sub-Tropical Rambles in the Land of the Aphanapteryx.* Personal Experiences, Adventures, and Wanderings In and Around the Island of Mauritius. By NICHOLAS PIKE. 8vo., pp. 509. New York: Harper & Bros.
- "*She Spoke of Him.*" Being Recollections of the Loving Labors and Early Death of the late Mrs. Henry Dening. By her Friend, Mrs. GRATTAN GUINNESS. 18mo., pp. 326. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.
- Gipsy in New York.* By JOSEPHINE POLLARD. 16mo., pp. 190. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.
- Historical Souvenirs of Martin Luther.* By CHARLES W. HUBNER. 16mo., pp. 155. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Nelson & Phillips. 1873.
- John Richmand; or, A Sister's Love.* By T. TAYLOR. 16mo., pp. 248. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.
- Jaqueline.* A Story of the Reformation in Holland. By Mrs. HARDY, (Janet Gordon,) author of "The Spanish Inquisition," "Champions of the Reformation," etc., etc. 16mo., pp. 201. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.
- Hollywood Stories.* Lionel's Courage; or, Clementine's Great Peril. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq., author of "The Glen Morris Stories," "My Uncle Toby's Library," "The Lindendale Stories," etc., etc. 18mo., pp. 291. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1873.
- Hollywood Stories.* Florence Rewarded; or, Priscilla the Beautiful. By FRANCIS FORRESTER, Esq. 18mo., pp. 283. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins. 1873.
- Home Story Series.* Country Stories. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 16mo., pp. 268. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.
- Home Story Series.* Stories for Leisure Hours. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 16mo., pp. 261. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.
- Home Story Series.* Holiday Stories. By AUGUSTA LARNED. 16mo., pp. 286. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.
- The Miner's Son, and Margaret Vernon.* By M. M. POLLARD, author of "The Minister's Daughter," "The Two Sisters," "The Old Farm-House," etc. 16mo., pp. 256. New York: Nelson & Phillips. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1873.
- Crooked Places.* By EDWARD GARRETT, author of "Occupations of a Retired Life," etc. 12mo., pp. 468. New York: Dodd & Mead.
- Winning Souls.* Sketches and Incidents during Forty Years of Pastoral Work. By Rev. S. B. HALLDAY. 12mo., pp. 165. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1873.
- Against the Stream.* The Story of a Heroic Age in England. By the author of "The Schönberg-Cotta Family," "Diary of Kitty Trevelyan." 12mo., pp. 589. New York: Dodd & Mead. 1873.
- Hester Morley's Promise.* By HESBA STRETTON, author of "The Doctor's Dilemma." 12mo., pp. 526. New York: Dodd & Mead.
- Truffle Nephews, and How they Commenced a New Charity.* By Rev. P. B. POWER, M.A. 18mo., pp. 270. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.
- The Little Camp on Eagle Hill.* By the author of "The Wide, Wide World." 18mo., pp. 428. New York: Robert Carter & Bros. 1874.

From the Appletons we have received, too late for notice in the present number, the following:

- Dr. Lord's Life of Mrs. Emma Willard.*
Herbert Spencer on Sociology.
Dr. Edward Smith on Foods.
Professor Cowles on the Pentateuch.
Professor Le Conte's Religion and Science.

JAMES ARMINIUS.

WE present in this number a fine engraving of one of the most noble characters of the Church of modern ages. JAMES ARMINIUS (the name is the Latinized form of Herman) was born at Oudewater, Holland, in the year 1560. In his childhood his entire family were slaughtered by the Spaniards during the war for Dutch independence, leaving him a sole survivor. The city of Amsterdam, in view of his manifest promise, adopted him as her *vesterling*, or foster-child, and educated him at public expense, under assumption that his life should be devoted to her service. He was sent to Geneva, where he was educated under Beza; thence to Basle, where he studied theology under Simon Grynaeus; and finally to Italy, where he became accomplished in philosophy under Zarabella. So rare were his talents that in Italy he was offered a doctorate at twenty-two years of age, which he declined.

Returning to Amsterdam, he was installed a metropolitan preacher at twenty-eight. His acquirements and abilities immediately secured him a great reputation with the people. His person was manly, his temper mild and amiable, and his manners magnetic. He had a light voice, which nevertheless possessed a peculiarly touching power. His piety was deep and earnest, exhibiting itself in the most faithful performance of his sacred office.

The national creed, which was intensely Calvinistic, having been attacked by a certain ingenious layman, Arminius was called upon to defend it. This task he undertook, but in prosecuting his investigations his own mind became involved in doubt. Reason, Scripture, the voice of the earliest antiquity, seemed alike opposed to the modern dogma. On explaining his views to the public he met with violent opposition. He, nevertheless, gradually unfolded that beautiful system of Christian doctrine which, though essentially held by the large majority of the Christian Church in all ages, has, during the last two centuries, been stamped with his name. Called to the Professorship of Theology in the University of Leyden, he claimed that his views were not a heretical departure from evangelical doctrine, and maintained Christian freedom of opinion. A long and violent controversy ensued. By its violence and danger his health was undermined, and he died the death of the righteous in the year 1609.

Our engraving is copied from the frontispiece of Nichols' "Works of Arminius," where it is recorded as "engraved by Thomson from a scarce Dutch print."